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JOHN AND JOHN MARK

PIERSON PARKER

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

AT dinner one night, some of us fell to discussing the absurdly long roster of candidates for authorship of the Fourth Gospel: John the son of Zebedee; an unknown elder of Ephesus; an equally unknown Jerusalem disciple; a committee of followers of one of these; Nathanael, Lazarus, Theophilus, Matthias, and even Judas Iscariot. At last one of the group said with a grin, "Maybe it was John Mark!"

The words were spoken in jest, but they stayed in the writer's mind. The more he thought about them, the more he recognized that Mark and the Fourth Evangelist *are* in fact linked, by a remarkable series of coincidences. Some of these are set forth here, in the hope that they may elicit the comments of fellow NT students.

I. The Career of John Mark

The known facts about John Mark are hard to square with his authorship of the Second Gospel. They would fit beautifully with his authorship of the Fourth.

1. John Mark lived in Jerusalem. There is no record that he ever was in Galilee. Yet the Second Gospel devotes most of its attention to Galilee. When it gets to Jerusalem it is hesitant, and shows little familiarity with that city. The Fourth Evangelist, on the other hand, allots four-fifths of his book to Jerusalem and Judea, less than a sixth to Galilee. He shows detailed and, so far as can be judged, accurate knowledge of Jerusalem and its environs; and there is more than one hint that that was indeed his home (e.g., John 18 15; 19 27; 20 1-4, 10).

2. John Mark seems to have been of priestly family. His cousin Barnabas was a Levite (Col 4 10; Acts 4 36). The epithet *κολοβοδάκτυλος*, early applied to Mark, was taken by some to mean that he had mutilated one or more fingers so as to get out of the Temple service.¹ Yet the Second Gospel shows little interest in, or knowledge of, either the Temple or the priesthood. There is no reference to sacrificial lambs. The Law, so essential to the priesthood, is not once mentioned by name. The Fourth Evangelist, in contrast, is profoundly interested in the

¹ So the Vulgate preface, cod. Toletanus. Other Vulgate prefaces say Mark was of the priestly class. The tradition that he was *κολοβοδάκτυλος* is reiterated by Hippolytus, *Philos.* vii. 30, and in the Anti-Marcionite Prologue.

Temple, and puts most of Jesus' discourses there. In fact, he seems actually to build his chronology around the Jewish calendar of feasts. He uses the figure of the sacrificial lamb (1 29, 36) and, alone of the canonical Four, makes Jesus' death coincide with the Passover slayings. He cites or refers to the Torah fourteen separate times.² He recounts the doings of the priestly group at Jerusalem.³ The unnamed disciple, we are expressly told, knew the high priest, and could give orders to the high priest's maid and be obeyed (18 15 f.). And there is an ancient tradition that the Fourth Evangelist was, in fact, of the priestly caste and at one time wore the *πέταλον*.⁴

3. John Mark was evidently a person of means. He was able to travel about on his own. His Jerusalem home had a porch, and a guest-chamber big enough to house a concourse of the brethren, and was served by a maid (Acts 12 12-17). The Second Gospel shows little knowledge of the wealthy classes. It tells of the poor and the outcast, and of Jesus' compassion for these. The Fourth Gospel says little about the poor. Instead, Jesus is in constant touch with Jewish leaders, or the affluent, or homeowners. He even goes to Golgotha wearing a fine robe (19 23). Perhaps these Johannine features can be squared with the Synoptic picture. Plainly, however, the concern of the Fourth Evangelist is with just those groups that one would expect in a well-to-do follower of Christ.

4. If the Last Supper was in Mark's house, then Mark (or perhaps his father) must have been the host. Yet the Second Gospel describes the preparation of the Supper from, as it were, the outside (14 12-16). Disciples are *sent* to *find* the house, they ask for the host, and are shown what to do. In the Fourth Gospel no such searching out is described. Indeed John 13 1 f. reads exactly as it would if written from the host's own standpoint. And if the place of honor at Jesus' right hand was occupied by some one not of the Twelve, that would almost certainly be the host himself.⁵

5. John Mark, as a companion of Paul, was exposed to Paul's doc-

² 1 17; 1 45; 3 14; 5 34 f.; 6 32 f.; 7 10; 7 22 f.; 7 40; 7 51; 8 17; 9 28 f.; 18 31; 19 7; 19 36. The Psalms also are called *ὕμνος* at 10 34; 12 34; 15 25.

³ 1 10 ff.; 7 44 ff.; 11 47-53, 56; 12 10, 42 f.; 18; 19 21 f. Also "the Jews" seems frequently to mean the priestly group, e.g., at 2 18 ff.; 5 10 ff.; 7 11 ff., 30 f.; 8 22; 18 29-32.

⁴ Eusebius, *H.E.* III.xxxi.3; V.xxiv.3 f. Bernard, in the *Gospel According to St. John* ("ICC"), vol. ii, p. 595, quotes a legend which Valois gave as a note on *H. E.* V. xxiv: "Beatum Marcum juxta ritum carnalis sacrificii pontificalis apicis petalum in populo gestasse Judaeorum . . . ex quo manifeste datur intelligi de stirpe eum Levitica, imo pontificis Aaron sacrae successionis originem habuisse." This is very close to Polycrates' description of *John*.

⁵ Also in the Second Gospel (14 18-20) when Jesus is asked who will betray him, he answers, "It is one of the Twelve," implying that at least one other besides these was in the room.

trines of righteousness, justification, salvation, light and darkness, Wisdom Christology, "the image of the invisible God," preexistence, the ultimate restoration of Israel, union with Christ, life in the Spirit. None of these ideas appears to any extent in the Second Gospel. All of them, while couched in a non-Pauline vocabulary, are reflected prominently in the Fourth.

6. Every time Paul mentions Mark, he mentions Luke too (Col 4 10, 14; Philemon 24; cf. II Tim 4 10 f.). Mark was evidently of very different temperament and training from Paul's "beloved physician," but the two Evangelists must long have worked in the same areas, and shared similar experiences and similar oral traditions. Now while Luke makes large drafts on the Second Gospel, his relation to it is entirely *literary*. There is no sign that he and the Second Evangelist had had common experiences or listened to the same oral traditions.

Just such a common background is suggested when we compare the Third Gospel with the Fourth. Both these Evangelists discuss their own writing tasks (Luke 1 1-3; John 21 24 f.). Both are interested, far more than the others, in Samaria and Judea, in Jerusalem and in the Temple. Both place the feeding of the five thousand on the eastern shore of the lake (Luke 9 10; John 6 1). Neither speaks of any extensive Galilean ministry after that feeding and, in both, Peter's confession follows it immediately. Both show special interest in Jesus' mother; describe the sisters Mary and Martha; and tell of some one named Lazarus, whose return from death would fail to convert the nation. In writing of John the Baptist, both stress his *name* and his divine commission, give far more of his teaching than the other Gospels do, tell of popular wonder as to whether he was the Messiah; yet are exceedingly sketchy about his imprisonment. Both stress, more than the other Gospels, the inclusiveness of the word "disciple."⁶ Both say that Satan entered into Judas Iscariot (Luke 22 3; John 13 27). In both, Jesus tells Peter of the latter's restoration and commands him henceforth to lead the young Church (Luke 22 31 f.; John 21 15 ff.). Both describe Passovers before the last one, are interested in chronology, and in Jesus' age. Each describes a miraculous catch of fish.⁷ Each details the charges against Jesus and, in each, Pilate three times declares Jesus innocent. Both Luke and John have two angels at the tomb, tell what Mary Magdalene said to the Eleven, and report the disciples' visit to the sepulchre.⁸ The earliest Resurrection appearances are in or near Jeru-

⁶ Luke 6 13, 17; 14 25-27, 33; 19 37; Acts 6 1 f., 7; 9 10, 26; 15 10; 16 1; John 4 1; 6 60 f., 66 f.; 7 3; 8 31; 9 27 f.; 19 38; 21 1 f.

⁷ And both Luke 5 10 and John 21 2 make separate mention of "the sons of Zebedee." This was, then, part of their common tradition and is no more a signature of authorship in John than it is in Luke.

⁸ John 20 3-10; Luke 24 24. Cf. Luke 24 12 (NABWΘ *et al.*).

saalem, and include one in the upper room. The disciples at first fail to recognize Jesus, and he asks them to verify his physical reality by touching him. Both authors refer to the Ascension (Luke 24 50 ff.;⁹ John 3 13; 6 62). As is often remarked, even John 14-16 would seem more appropriate to the pre-Ascension period: its content closely resembles Acts 1 4-8, though the wording is utterly different. In Christology, Luke has fewer signs of a Messianic secret than have the other Synoptics, while John has none at all. Both Luke and John use "son of man" frequently before Peter's confession,¹⁰ yet neither has nearly as much apocalyptic as have the other Gospels. Only in Luke and John is Jesus able to slip miraculously through a crowd (Luke 4 29 f.; John 8 59). Only in these are we told that his followers "saw his glory" (Luke 9 32; John 1 14).

In fact, by the present writer's count, John has some 120 points of agreement with Luke against the first two Gospels. This is about five times as many as its contacts with Matthew alone, or with the Second Gospel alone, or with those two against Luke. While such a count is bound to be rough, it is nonetheless plain that the Third Gospel is related to the Fourth in a way completely unmatched by the other Synoptics. Yet these agreements are usually put in very different language, and set within totally different contexts and circumstances. The situation is precisely like that of two authors, of widely variant personality and education, who worked for a time in the same areas and shared a common oral tradition. That is what Luke and John Mark did.

7. John Mark seems, at least early in his career, to have been a Judaizer. Paul dubs him "of the circumcision," which recalls Paul's description of Peter's mission to Jews (Col 4 10 f.; Gal 2 7 f.). Mark had gone with Paul among the synagogues of Cyprus, but when Paul set out to preach to gentiles Mark left him and returned to Jerusalem (Acts 13 4-13). If Gal 2 and Acts 15 cover the same events, then Paul's quarrel with Barnabas and Mark was, in part, over Judaizing. Thereupon Barnabas and Mark went right back to Cyprus where previously they had worked among Jews only.

Yet the Second Gospel comes down heavily, even polemically, on the gentile side of the Judaizing controversy.¹¹ If the Fourth Gospel reflects little concern over the question, it certainly fails to take the gentile side. Indeed, it speaks of circumcision without the slightest hint that that posed any problem to the author or his readers (John 7 22 f.).

8. The next point is closely related to what was just said. So far as

⁹ Probably, also, Luke 9 51, where ἀναλήψεως would more readily apply to the Ascension than to the Passion.

¹⁰ Luke 5 24; 6 5, 22; 7 34; John 1 52; 3 13, 14; 5 27; 6 27, 53, 62.

¹¹ See Pierson Parker, *The Gospel Before Mark* (Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1953), pp. 87-115.

the NT indicates, all of John Mark's missionary work was among Jews of the Diaspora.¹² Of the canonical Gospels, however, only the Fourth ever mentions the Diaspora (7 35). To this author, "Greek" seems to mean "Greek-speaking Jew" (7 35; 12 20), and even John 10 16 and 11 52 could as readily refer to Diaspora Judaism as to a more universal community. John never explains matters familiar to Jews outside Palestine: circumcision, the Feast of Dedication, Passover,¹³ Christ, Jerusalem, Samaria, Moses, Abraham, the Law. But it carefully elucidates whatever such people might *not* know: the meanings of Semitic words, details of Jerusalem geography, and the like. His purpose, the author says, is to establish that Jesus is Messiah (20 31). In Acts (9 20, 22; 13 32 f.; 17 2 f.; 18 5, 18) that was expressly the burden of Christian argument in the *synagogues*.

9. John Mark was a companion of Peter. On release from prison, Peter resorts at once to Mark's home (Acts 12 12 ff.). Years later he can call Mark "my son" or, at least, can be represented as doing so (1 Pet 5 13). The bond between the two men is recalled again and again in early Christian writings. Yet the Second Gospel says less about Peter than does any of the other three. It, alone, never so much as hints at Peter's appointment to leadership. True, it records as though they were reminiscences some events in which Peter took part; but others had taken part too, and the stories could just as easily have come from, say, John or James. This playing down of Peter is sometimes attributed to the latter's "reticence." But Peter was not a reticent man. Besides, need *Mark* have been so modest about his friend?

The Fourth Evangelist displays no such hesitation. He names Peter more often than any other Gospel writer does. His story of Peter's shame is the gentlest of all. His story of Peter's restoration is the longest, and the most insistent on that apostle's coming leadership. Still more decisively, the rôle of the unnamed disciple is exactly that which tradition later assigned to Mark. Except for a single incident in Galilee, Peter in the Fourth Gospel is always with the unnamed disciple: at his conversion, at the Last Supper, at the high priest's house, at the other disciple's home — where, be it noted, Mary Magdalene knows that Peter will be; then at the tomb, and on the lake. And it is only that disciple for whose future Peter shows any concern.¹⁴

¹² Acts 12 25—13 13; 15 37—39; Col 4 10 f. Cf. also 1 Pet 5 13 with 1 1.

¹³ John 6 4 partially explains the Passover, but this was introduced without explanation at 2 13. In my article, "Two Editions of John" (*JBL*, vol. LXXV, 1956, pp. 303 ff.), it is argued that John 6 was not in the first draft of the Gospel.

¹⁴ Some have thought that the disciple of 1 35—40, 18 15 f., 19 35 and that of 13 23; 19 28 f.; 20 2—9; 21 7, 20 ff. are not the same. But they are described by the same phrases, ὁ ἄλλος, ὁ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖνος, and ἀκολουθῶν. Each takes a position of precedence, appears chiefly during the Passion, is at the cross, is companion and mediator for Peter,

10. Tradition further records that Mark was Peter's *ἐρμηνευτής*. There is no reason to suppose that Mark waited till late in the apostle's life to begin this service. At Jerusalem, Peter would have needed aid from the start. Now in the Fourth Gospel, the unnamed disciple constantly acts as interpreter for Peter. He relays Peter's question to Jesus, and obtains Jesus' answer. He gains Peter's admittance to the high priest's house. He precedes Peter to the tomb, and is the first to "believe." He recognizes the risen Lord, and tells Peter who it is. Always he opens the way for Peter, explains, interprets for him.

If, however, we limit *ἐρμηνευτής* to "interpreter of Peter's message," this again fits the Fourth Evangelist and no other. The most primitive account of Peter's preaching is in the Book of Acts.¹⁵ Consider, then, how constantly Peter's words, in Acts, find reflection only in John: The *λόγος* of God was sent to the people of Israel (Acts 10 36). The disciples were with Jesus from the time of John's baptism (Acts 1 21 f.; cf. especially John 15 27). Peter stresses the importance of eyewitnesses (Acts 2 32; 4 20; 5 32; 10 39, 41). These included others besides the Twelve (2 32). Peter addresses particularly the people of Judea and Jerusalem (2 14). Jesus worked *specifically in those areas* (2 22; 10 37, 39). His wonder works were "signs" (2 22). Peter cites the Torah (3 22). He underscores the divine agency and autonomy in all that has happened (2 23 f., 39; 3 18; 10 41). Yet blame fell squarely upon the Jews of Jerusalem (3 23, 36). Those who reject Christ will be condemned (3 23). Jesus since his Resurrection is to be known as Lord (2 36). Peter speaks of Christ's Ascension (1 22; 2 34; 3 21), exaltation (2 35), and the coming of the Spirit (2 38; 5 32; 10 47; 11 12, 15). *That coming was at Christ's own behest* (2 35). Jewish hearers must be persuaded that Jesus is Messiah (2 36). Notice, also, these typically "Johannine" expressions in Peter's speeches: the Father (2 33), Savior (5 31), peace (10 36), believe (10 43; 11 17), water (10 47), life (3 14), judge (10 42), *the Jews* (10 39; 12 11). Negatively, Peter's discourses contain little apocalyptic and nothing about the kingdom. This long list of correspondences has no equal in the Synoptic Gospels, and certainly not in the Second. Judging from Acts, only the Fourth Evangelist has expounded and developed Peter's own message. Thus only he merits the description, "interpreter of Peter."

11. Papias suggests, and Ireneus expressly says, that Mark wrote after Peter's death. But Clement of Alexandria says that Peter knew

is a *witness* of the things recorded; and of each it is insisted that "his witness is true." It is most unlikely that two different men would be given such identical rôles in the story.

¹⁵ At best, of course, the Acts speeches are paraphrases. However, Acts 1-15 often conflicts with Luke's own pro-gentile bias; so Luke here must have been governed by his sources.

of Mark's enterprise, permitted, and even approved it.¹⁶ If Mark wrote the Second Gospel, this discrepancy is hard to account for. If he wrote the Fourth, the explanation becomes almost obvious. John 21, which refers to Peter's death, is an addendum. The Gospel thus went through two editions, the second of which followed Peter's death, but a first draft of which might very well have preceded it.¹⁷

12. There is a tradition, the strength of which is debatable, that John Mark went to Alexandria.¹⁸ In any case he would have met Alexandrianism at Jerusalem (cf. Acts 7 9 ff.) and felt its influence during his repeated sojourns on Cyprus. There is no discernible Alexandrianism in the Second Gospel. The Fourth, however, has so much that it became a favorite among Alexandrian Gnostics; and some scholars think it actually originated in Alexandria.¹⁹

13. In the NT, of all the men named John, only John Mark is ever placed in Ephesus (I Tim 1 3; II Tim 1 18; 4 12). Mark's stay at Ephesus is asserted also by later writers.²⁰ Certainly he would have been well-known there! Therefore either Mark was one of the two Ephesian leaders named John, to whom Papias, Dionysius, and Eusebius refer;²¹ or, if there was only one such person, he was John Mark. Yet none but the Fourth Gospel is ever called "the Ephesian Gospel."

II. The Statement of Papias

As every NT student knows, Papias' statement about Mark seems to bristle with difficulties. Yet the worst difficulty is seldom dwelt upon: Papias' words just do not fit our Second Gospel at all. The fact is, they describe the Fourth! To show this, we break the famous quotation into phrases and comment on them severally:²²

¹⁶ On Papias, see Eusebius, *H. E.* III. xxxix. 15; on Ireneus, *Adv. Haer.* III. i. 2; on Clement, *Adumbr. in I Pet* 5 13; Eusebius, *H. E.* II. xv. 2.

¹⁷ See the article named in note 13 above.

¹⁸ Eusebius, *H. E.* II. xvi-xvii, xxiv; Chrysostom, *Prooem. in Matth.*; Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 6; Jerome, *De Vir. Illus.* 8; Acts of Barnabas (4th or 5th cent.); the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Mark (see *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. vii, p. 556); Ado of Vienne (d. 874), *Chron.* VI.

¹⁹ E.g., K. G. Bretschneider, *Probabilia de evangelii et epistolarum Joannis apostoli, indole et origine*, Leipzig, 1820, pp. 224 f. Among recent studies see Alfred M. Perry, "Is John an Alexandrian Gospel?", art. in *JBL*, vol. LXIII (1944), pp. 99 ff.; J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church*, Cambridge, 1943; K. and S. Lake, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 53. In a recent conversation, however, Dr. Silva Lake told me she had abandoned her earlier view of the Alexandrian origin.

²⁰ Eusebius, *H. E.* VII. xxv. Further, if Colossians was written from Ephesus, Col 4 10 puts Mark there about A.D. 55; if from Rome, Mark goes to Asia about A.D. 63.

²¹ *H. E.* III. xxxix. 3, 4, 6, 7; VII. xxv. 16. Cf. also Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.* 9.

²² *H. E.* III. xxxix.

- 1 And the Elder used to say this:
- 2 Mark, having become an interpreter of Peter,
- 3 wrote down accurately, though not, to be sure, in order,
- 4 whatsoever he remembered
- 5 of the things said or done by the Lord.
- 6 For neither had he heard the Lord nor followed him,
- 7 but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter,
- 8 who made his teachings in accordance with the needs,
- 9 but not, as it were, in orderly arrangement,
- 10 of the sayings given by the Lord.
- 11 So that neither did Mark sin
- 12 in thus having written down items as he remembered them.
- 13 For of one thing he took care, to leave out nothing that he had
- heard
- 14 nor to falsify anything in them.
- 15 These things therefore are recorded by Papias concerning Mark.

The last line (15) ascribes all that precedes to Papias. It is hard to say how much of it is from the Elder, and how much is Papias' own comment. But now consider:

It is twice charged that Mark did not have his material in proper order (3, 9). Yet the pattern in the Second Gospel is virtually the same as that in the First and Third. Why, then, should the Elder (or Papias or Eusebius) single out *one* of these erring ones, and leave the others uncensured? John, on the other hand, does depart radically from the standard arrangement,²³ and must early have come under question in that regard. Indeed, the order of the Fourth Gospel has been subject to discussion, attack, and tinkering at least since the time of Tatian and down to our own day.

Mark's book is twice said to consist of reminiscences (4, 12). Here the subject may be either Mark, or Peter himself. Yet not one line of the Second Gospel sounds like Mark's own recollections, while those that could be Peter's could just as well be from some one else. Still worse, the bulk of the book is not personal reminiscence at all. As most scholars recognize, the Second Gospel has drawn on prior written documents. The Fourth, so far from betraying any demonstrable literary derivation, insists again and again that it records personal recollections (e.g., John 1 16; 2 22; 19 35; 20 30; 21 24).

Mark, asserts Papias, devoted a large part of his book to Jesus' teachings (5, 10; cf. also 6, 8, 13). The Second Gospel, however, contains

²³ Even the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews probably adhered to the standard pattern. See my article, "A Proto-Lukan Basis for the Gospel According to the Hebrews," *JBL*, vol. LIX (1940), pp. 470 f.

less discourse material than any of the others. The Fourth contains the most of all.

Phrase 6 needs to be qualified by the opening lines of the Muratorian fragment, "Nevertheless he was present at some events and so recorded them." The latter is all that the Fourth Gospel claims for its unnamed disciple. If, furthermore, the author was not one of the Twelve, that might well have been enough, in Papias' mind, to justify the remark.

Papias twice says that Mark was Peter's associate (2, 7). For these assertions to be true, the work with Peter must either have followed Mark's Pauline period, or preceded it — or perhaps both. Papias' own *ὑστερον* (7) seems to refer to his preceding phrase, and thus to mean that Mark was with Peter after the main part of Jesus' ministry. This fits admirably with the behavior of the unnamed disciple who attended the Last Supper, and thereafter was Peter's host and interpreter, and object of his special regard.

Papias then adds (8) that Mark's Gospel was adapted to current needs. Of course every Gospel author did that, at least in part. The Second Gospel, for example, adjusted its message to gentile interests.²⁴ Preëminently, however, it is the Fourth Evangelist who has "made his teachings in accordance with the needs" — to meet the Gnostic heresy, the problem of John the Baptist, and Judaism's failure to receive the Messiah.

Nearly the whole Papias passage implies that Mark's book had come under attack and needed defense. (Note especially phrases 11, 14.) Now while the Second Gospel was neglected by the early Church, there is no clear evidence that it was attacked. The Fourth Gospel, on the contrary, was assailed frequently (Epiphanius' *Alogi* are an example²⁵); and Christian writers, like Irenaeus and Hippolytus, had constantly to come to its defense.²⁶

Finally, Papias insists repeatedly that Mark's Gospel was *complete* (4, 5, 13). Yet the Second Gospel is the most incomplete of all. It omits much that a follower of Peter surely must have heard. Its huge gaps were, in fact, the very thing that caused its neglect.²⁷ Papias' words, here, might be applied to the First, Third, or Fourth Gospels. They do not apply to the Second.

Thus, of Papias' description of Mark's work, hardly a line fits the Second Gospel. Every word would fit the Fourth.

²⁴ Above, note 11.

²⁵ *Haer.* li. 2 f.

²⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III. xi. Hippolytus' defense is commemorated in an inscription on a statue of him, from ca. A.D. 222, now standing in the Lateran Museum.

²⁷ Augustine called its author a mere "lackey and abbreviator of Matthew" (*De Cons. Ev.* i).

III. The Fourth Gospel Itself

With John Mark as Fourth Evangelist, other features of that Gospel would fall into place. Sometimes, indeed, this looks like the only way to make the book believable as history.

1. At John 19 27, Jesus' mother goes to the unnamed disciple's home, apparently in or near Jerusalem.²⁸ Yet at Acts 1 13, 14 Mary is "abiding" at a Jerusalem house which was, in all likelihood, John Mark's.

2. The phrase "disciple whom Jesus loved" would sound less bragadocio if it described a younger companion of the Twelve, who elicited Jesus' special care. Furthermore, the Fourth Evangelist always speaks of "the Twelve" as an honored group apart (6 67, 71; 20 24). That is how John Mark, the young host at Jerusalem, would have regarded them; and Mark's rôle in the NT is always that of junior companion to the apostles.

3. In putting the Last Supper and Crucifixion on Nisan 14, this is the only Gospel to give aid and comfort to the Quartodecimans. John Mark, of Jerusalem and later of Ephesus, would almost certainly have taken the Quartodeciman side.

4. The Fourth Gospel lays great stress on eyewitness testimony. Now Luke virtually equates "eyewitness" (*αὐτόπτης*) with "minister" (*ὑπηρέτης*) — Luke 1 2. Yet the only Christian *ὑπηρέτης* whom Luke ever names is John Mark (Acts 13 5). Taken by itself this would mean little. Put beside Luke's remarkable contacts with the Fourth Gospel, it again hints at a connection between Mark's and the Fourth Evangelist's labors.

5. If the Fourth Evangelist used no written sources, this corresponds to Mark's situation. He was contemporary with Jesus, knew Peter intimately, housed the Jerusalem Church for a dozen years after the Crucifixion, and thus, for his book, would have felt need of little that his own memory could not supply.

6. Against Mark it might be objected that he was too young since, according to Ireneus, the Fourth Evangelist wrote in old age.²⁹ Note, however, that Ireneus knew of only one Ephesian leader named John. Others said there were two, in which case Ireneus must have applied some traditions to the wrong man. Be that as it may, the Fourth Gospel cannot have taken final shape till after Peter's death, perhaps years after. By that time *any* acquaintance of Jesus was nearing sixty, or more. That was old by Oriental standards.

7. John, the most theological of all our Gospels, is written in simple

²⁸ John 2 1-5 likewise intimates that the author had long known Mary's comportment as a guest.

²⁹ *Adv. Haer.* II.xxii.5; III.iii.4.

but good Greek; and it shows a keen grasp of both Jewish and pagan thought-forms. John Mark was son of a well-to-do, Jewish priestly family, was widely traveled, worked under Paul, and was skilled enough to be called *ἐρμηνευτής, ὑπηρέτης, and εὐχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν*.

8. The Fourth Evangelist wrote to combat a Gnostic heresy. In so doing, he took up the very language of Gnosticism and turned it to his own ends, to express and defend the true faith. It is one of the most remarkable feats in the NT. One other NT book nearly matches it, however: the Epistle to the Colossians. Colossians, too, meets a paganizing distortion of Christianity, and there too the language of heresy is seized upon to defeat the heresy. As a result Colossians, alone among Paul's letters, sounds almost like John. And whom does Paul then send to Colossae, to follow up his letter?

John Mark!

IV. The Name "John"

According to early and universal tradition, the Fourth Evangelist was named John.³⁰ The Gospel itself seems to bear this out, for it stresses the name when applied to others (1 6, 42; 21 15, 16, 17) as though the word itself were significant to the author. This would eliminate all such candidates as Lazarus, Theophilus, Matthias, or Nathanael. It does not eliminate John Mark.

Confusion of biblical names has always been easy. In specific instances, ancient writers mistook Philip the Deacon for Philip the Apostle, and James the Apostle for James the Lord's brother.³¹ With "John" the case would be, if possible, even worse. Acts applies an unembellished "John" to the Baptist (1 5, 22; 10 37; 11 16; 13 24 f.; 18 25; 19 3 f.), to a companion of Peter who was presumably the son of Zebedee (1 13; 3 1, 3, 4, 11; 4 13, 19; 8 14; 12 2), to a companion of the high priest (4 6), and to Mark himself (13 5, 13; 15 37). Often the name denotes different men in the same or adjacent contexts, and the reader must keep his wits about him to know who is meant.

Furthermore, both John Mark and John the son of Zebedee were in Jerusalem after the Crucifixion. Each was actively associated with Peter, and also with Paul. Each left Jerusalem, from time to time, for missionary work in the north, the son of Zebedee going to Samaria, Mark to Antioch. Each, tradition said, worked later in Asia. Add to all this the fact that the fathers, down to Tertullian, were unsure and equivocal

³⁰ For example, Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* III.i.1), Polycrates (Eusebius, *H.E.* III.xxxi.3; V.xxiv.2 f.), Origen (*H.E.* VI.xxv), Leucius Charinus (*Acts of John* [ca. A.D. 150] §89).

³¹ The Philips were confused by Polycrates, Proclus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Eusebius; the Jameses by Irenaeus and apparently by Papias. See R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John* ("ICC"), vol. i, pp. xl f.

about the Fourth Gospel's authorship. (They were almost as uncertain about the Second Gospel.) Clearly they could have mistaken one of these men for the other.

In fact, suggested Dionysius of Alexandria, and Eusebius after him, that is just what the fathers did.³² Dionysius contrasted the language of the Johannine Gospel and Epistles with that of Revelation. The latter, he saw, could not have come from the Evangelist's hand. Since Revelation is by *somebody* named John, it must be by another of that name. The only other candidate Dionysius could find, living at the right time and capable of such a book, was John Mark — though whether Mark actually wrote it, Dionysius was not quite prepared to say (*ὅντιν ἂν φάλην*).³³ And Eusebius, in chiding Irenaeus for confusing the two Johns, makes this comment:

It is important to notice this. For it is probable that it was the second [John], if one is not willing to admit that it was the first, who saw the revelation which is ascribed by name to John.

Maybe Dionysius was right, but maybe it was the other way around!

V. Problems

Should the Gospel of John turn out to be the Gospel of John Mark, this would certainly solve some problems. It would be clear how the authorship got ascribed, erroneously, to John the son of Zebedee. The trouble the book had in winning its way could have been due to the subordinate position of John Mark himself. The connection with Ephesus, the apparent Alexandrianism, the tantalizing affinities with Luke, and, above all, the book's highly individual content — all this would fall into place if this document recorded John Mark's message to the Diaspora.

Yet there are difficulties.

1. Not the least would be the disruption in our conception of Gospel origins. The present writer's own study of the Synoptic Problem would be affected.³⁴ The evidence remains, it is believed, unshakable that Matthew drew not from our Second Gospel but from the latter's immediate ancestor, and that that ancestor was abridged and modified to produce our Second Gospel. But who did the cutting, and under what circumstances — these questions would have to be reexamined.

³² Eusebius, *H.E.* VII.xxv; III.xxxix.6.

³³ Several nineteenth-century scholars proposed Mark as author of the Apocalypse. See James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (New York: Scribner's, 1929), p. 512. Cf. note 35, below.

³⁴ *The Gospel Before Mark*, pp. 149–153.

2. Indeed the reader must long since have asked, If Mark wrote the Fourth Gospel, who wrote the Second? It seems almost too easy to suggest (though some have done so) that it was *another* Mark.³⁵ The name Marcus, while rare among Jews, was common enough among gentiles. However, no such Marcus, living at a suitable time and place, is known to us. Ascribing the Second Gospel to such a one merely pushes the problem a step back, while solving nothing.

Some, not afraid of wild suggestions, might even propose John the son of Zebedee. In other words the two authors, both named John, got interchanged in the tradition. The Second Gospel does pay unusual attention to John son of Zebedee, naming him as often as do all the others combined. Its strong apocalyptic flavor would fit his temper. Its eyewitness stories could have come from him. Its depreciation of the Twelve might stem from the rivalries in which John figured so prominently. Its pro-gentile tone might reflect his later work in Samaria and Asia Minor. Its relatively poor Greek, its ill acquaintance with the OT, and its hesitant treatment of Jerusalem, might all be due to the "unlearned and ignorant" John of Acts 4 13. One might even propose, by these means, to account for the variant order in some early canons: Matthew-John-Luke-Mark instead of Matthew-Mark-Luke-John. The difference stemmed from a prior uncertainty as to which was which! Yet it is not easy to see how a son of Zebedee could have erred about Galilean geography, as the Second Evangelist sometimes does. It is still harder to see why that John should have needed written sources.

If, however, we find no suitable author for the Second Gospel, this does not entitle us to fall back on Mark of Jerusalem. We have seen too many objections to that, and there are others. It was never attributed to that Mark until the time of Jerome, and then only tentatively.³⁶ Its Greek is too colloquial for one of his education. It contains historical uncertainties, even blunders, regarding Herod Antipas, and regarding the government of Bethsaida, Gerasa, Phoenicia, and Jericho. It greatly exaggerates the ceremonial strictness of the Jews. Its account of the Trial is inadequate and misleading, e.g., as to the time and procedures of the Sanhedrin hearing, and the time of the Crucifixion. It shows little knowledge of Jesus' family, although James the Lord's brother was in Jerusalem for years. John Mark of Jerusalem should have done better than all this.

³⁵ So, e.g., Johannes Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, pp. 382-414. See also Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1953), pp. 26 f.

³⁶ *Comm. in Philemon* 24. Justin (*Dial.* 106) attributes to ἀπομνημονεύματα [Πέρπου?] a phrase found only in the Second Gospel (3 17). However, (a) if there was confusion about Gospel authorships, it certainly must have begun before Justin's time. (b) Justin nowhere ascribes the quotation to *Mark's* Gospel.

3. Finally, to equate John Mark with John the Evangelist probably will not help toward identifying *the Elder*. Papias' Elder criticized Mark and so cannot have been John Mark himself. Nor can we meet this last by conjuring up the other, unknown Marcus as subject of the Elder's discussion. The Elder gives no sign that he and his subject bore the same name. Worse, he would have discussed the "other Mark's" work in utter bewilderment and ignorance, and censured it for the very qualities which most precisely characterized his own.

There is, of course, the familiar suggestion that the Elder John was some one otherwise unknown to us. Then, unless there were *three* Ephesian leaders by that name, we shall have to say that John the son of Zebedee never went to Ephesus, and must charge with fault all those who said he did.³⁷

Or was the son of Zebedee himself the Elder? If Peter could be called "Elder" (I Pet 5 1), then so could his fellow apostle. Indeed it is likely that an apostle would always be "elder" to another associated with him and bearing his name. But if the Elder was John the son of Zebedee, then Papias, in his famous passage on the Apostle John and the Elder John, was either very confusing or very confused.³⁸ The latter is quite conceivable. Eusebius called Papias "a man of very little intelligence,"³⁹ and he did, it seems, mistake *James* the son of Zebedee for James the brother of the Lord.⁴⁰

None of these suggestions is entirely satisfactory. Perhaps the difficulty lies in regarding "elder" too exclusively a title, for one individual. Many elders functioned in the early Church; and the word could also be used adjectivally, simply to indicate a man's relative age. Even John Mark, though not Papias' Elder, might with passing time and the death of John the Apostle have assumed the dignity of that designation.

Whatever be thought of the foregoing problems, there remains the astonishing series of links between John Mark and the Fourth Evangelist. They are too extensive, too all-pervading, to be lightly dismissed. If John Mark was not "the disciple who wrote these things," then how came these correspondences?

³⁷ Ireneus, *Adv. Haer.* II.xxii.5; III.i.1; iii.4; Eusebius, *H.E.* III.xx.9; xxiii.31; *Leucian Acts of John*; Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Dives Salvetur?* 42; and many others.

³⁸ Eusebius, *H.E.* xxxix.3 f.

³⁹ *H.E.* III.xxxix.13.

⁴⁰ Note 31 above.

THE GREEK BIBLE MANUSCRIPTS USED BY ORIGEN¹

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A PAPER on the transmission of the pronunciation of Hebrew and the punctuation of the Masoretes, which I read at the first German Conference of Orientalists held in Leipzig in 1921,² made it clear to me that we urgently needed to study Hebrew texts having a vocalization different from the normal form of our MT. I found in Franz Xaver Wutz, of Eichstätt, an OT scholar who seemed to me suitable for the task I had in mind. He had published the *Onomastica Sacra* of Jerome,³ a very learned book in which he had to deal with a great number of transcribed Hebrew proper names. In the work I proposed it was necessary to deal with a great number of Hebrew texts transcribed in Greek letters and provided with vowels. Such a text used by Origen in the Second Column of the Hexapla which must have existed in the 3rd century A. D., had been discovered by Giovanni Mercati in 1894 in the palimpsest O 39 of the Ambrosiana in Milan. He had made a copy of this text before he was appointed to the Vatican Library in 1898. The palimpsest contained about 150 verses of the Psalms.

Wutz was willing and eager to investigate the texts found by Mercati and photostats of Mercati's transcripts were made available to him. His first reports on his study of them were promising. At my suggestion he delivered a lecture at the Second German Orientalist Congress in Berlin in 1923, and this made quite a favorable impression. He made valuable observations regarding a Hebrew grammar based on transcribed texts, comparing the form of Hebrew in the Second Column of the Hexapla with the transcribed proper names in LXX codices, and he established that these latter contained in some cases far older kinds of transliterations than the Second Column of the Hexapla discovered by Mercati. From this he quite rightly drew the conclusion that from the changes in transliteration in the different MSS we can bring out to a certain extent changes in the pronunciation of Hebrew. Wutz had

¹ Paper read at the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, September 25, 1959.

² "Die überlieferte Aussprache des Hebräischen und die Punktation der Masoreten," ZAW, XXXIX (1921), 230-39 = *Opera Minora*, pp. 38-47.

³ *Onomastica Sacra*. Untersuchungen zum *Liber Interpretationis Nominum Hebraicorum* in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ed. by A. Harnack and C. Schmidt, III.11 (Leipzig, 1914 and 1915).

begun to compile a kind of historical grammar of the Hebrew language; it was still somewhat imperfect, yet had a number of good points. But instead of going on with this grammar, he fell into the illusion of supposing that the transcribed texts could bring him nearer to the original Hebrew text of the Bible. He first spoke about this at the third German *Orientalistentag* in Munich (1924) in a paper: "Ist der hebräische Urtext wieder erreichbar?" (*ZDMG*, LXXVIII [1924], lxxvii). In a new edition of a handbook on the Psalms, prepared so as to help priests understand the text of the Psalms⁴ in the Breviary, he published the text of the Second Column as deciphered by Mercati in Milan, but with many corrections of his own of a not very satisfactory kind. Moreover, the photographs relating to Mercati's palimpsest at his disposal were of a transcript of the palimpsest made by Mercati before 1898. So I wrote in 1927 a long letter to Mercati with whom I was not at that time personally acquainted, expressing my opinion about the way in which Wutz had published the texts. I pointed out that the Hebrew words in Greek letters should not be read by a Greek scholar only. Semitists should also be given the opportunity to study them in the original. I suggested that good photos of these palimpsests should be made and proposed that this work should be entrusted to Father Dold of the Benedictine Abbey of Beuron, a specialist in photographs of such a kind.

To this letter I received no reply. But in August 1928, at the International Congress of Orientalists in Oxford, I met Eugène Tisserant, a learned scholar of the Christian Orient, with whom I had long been acquainted. At that time he was one of the most important officials in the Vatican Library. I asked him whether photographs of the Milan Hexapla palimpsest had been made in Rome, as I had suggested the previous year to Mercati. Tisserant replied "Yes, they have been made." To my further question — as to how well the photographs had come out — he replied that he could not say, as he had not seen them.

I was anxious to see a specimen of these photographs, as I was greatly interested in how the palimpsest was arranged, and after a request to Mercati had produced no result, I succeeded by another way in obtaining two specimens of the photographs for a few days in Bonn where in the Oriental Seminar of the University I studied them carefully with Christian Jensen, the classical philologist. We compared the transcribed texts published by Wutz from the photographs of Mercati's transcript with the specimens of the photographs of the original and realized as a result what an accomplishment the reading of the original palimpsest fragments had been.

Mercati only began work again on the Hexapla fragments in 1939. The immediate cause seems to have been a letter from Einar Brønno,

⁴ Franz Wutz, *Die Psalmen. Textkritisch untersucht*, (München, 1925).

a Danish pastor, who had taken up work on Hebrew morphology and vocalization on the basis of Mercati's fragments. As Brønno wished to publish his book in the *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* edited by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, of which I was then the Secretary, he had sent to me in Bonn a draft of his work. I indicated to him that neither the text of the Second Column published by Wutz, nor the words noted in the 2nd Supplement of the Oxford Septuagint Concordance provided a secure enough basis on which to construct a grammatical treatise on the transcribed texts.

The result was that in connection with his further work Brønno regularly asked Mercati about readings of the Second Column, and Mercati answered his questions as carefully as possible. It is to Brønno's credit that through his queries Mercati came to take up again his work on the Greek transcribed text of the Hexapla fragments. When in 1940 the original of Milan Hexapla palimpsest was sent to Mercati in Rome so that he had it to hand as once before in Milan, an additional inducement was provided for him to go on with the work, as far as his other duties and the strains and difficulties of the war allowed. The obligation imposed on him seemed to him all the greater because of the impressive outcome of the photographs made in 1928. For they clarified some dark and difficult points so that Mgr. Anselmo Albareda, the Prefect of the Vatican Library, could contemplate publishing the palimpsest in facsimile. For this a new arrangement of the material was required, but this had the great advantage of enabling the reader to compare the original of the palimpsest on each page with the reading on the opposite page.

In the case of the LXX column, the now published first part of the first volume of the book⁵ unfortunately does not contain Mercati's discussion of the problems involved. The introduction informs us that this discussion is deferred to the second part of the first volume which has not yet appeared. It is rather difficult to say anything definitive about the LXX column before we know what Mercati has written about it, and we must hope that the second part of the first volume will soon come out.

Until then we have to rely on Mercati's article, "Il problema della Colonna Seconda dell 'Esaplo,'" which he published in *Biblica*, 1947. Mercati is there convinced that the transcribed text of the Second Column — the Bible text written in Greek letters — was made either by Origen himself or at his behest. He arrived at this conviction because he had nowhere found that Jews had transcribed such Hebrew texts into

⁵ *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae* cura et studio Johannis Cardinal Mercati editae in Bybliotheca Vaticana, MCMLVIII. *Pars Prima. Codex rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosianae*, O 39 Svp. Phototypice Expressus et transcriptus (= Codices ex Ecclesiasticis Italiae Bybliothecis delecti phototypice expressi iussu Pii XII Pont. Max. consilio et studio Procuratorum Bybliothecae Vaticanae, Vol. VIII, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae*.

Greek letters. But he had not come across the original of Ludwig Blau's book, *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift* (Budapest, 1894). In the chapter of this book entitled, "Über hebräische Codices in fremden Charakteren" (pp. 81-83), the author showed that the texts discussed by him could only be understood as texts written by Jews in Greek transcription; on the other hand, there could be no question that the Hebrew consonantal text presupposed by the Greek transcribed texts corresponded throughout with the consonantal text which has become authoritative in our Hebrew Bible. This indicates that we have here a quite official text. It is unnecessary to emphasize that the transcribed text is of much greater value if composed by official authoritative Jewish circles than if it is the private work of Origen.

Hitherto the great problem has been: for what purpose was the entire Hebrew Bible written in Greek transcription? A recent discovery has thrown light on the problem. The homily of Bishop Melito of Sardis on "Passover and Passion," composed in the 2nd century A. D., has been found in a Greek papyrus of the 4th century which was in part bought by Sir Alfred Chester Beatty, in part by the University of Michigan. The Homily begins with the words: "*The book of the Hebrew Exodus has been read and the words of the Mystery have been explained, how the Lamb was slain and the people saved*" (*Ἡ μὲν γραφή τῆς εβραϊκῆς ἐξόδου ἀνεγνώσται καὶ τὰ ρήματα τοῦ μυστηρίου διασεσάφηται πὺς τὸ πρόβατον θύεται καὶ πὺς ὁ λαὸς σωζεται*).

Sir Frederic Kenyon, who published the beginning of the Homily from the papyrus of Sir Alfred Chester Beatty,⁶ remarks quite rightly that what the first words of the text appear to state is that the OT text was read aloud in Hebrew, (no doubt a ritual formality), that the Greek translation followed, and then, thirdly, the homily. By a special investigation,⁷ Dr. Günther Zuntz has tried to show that the reading aloud of the OT pericopes in Hebrew was taken over by the Christians from the Jews. Not only for Christians but also for many of the Jews it was necessary to use a Greek transcription for the public reading of the OT. In a detailed review of my book: *The Cairo Geniza* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy,⁸ 1941, [London, 1947]), the late Professor T. W. Manson observed: "Origen's Second Column becomes more interesting than ever, if it was a Christian as well as a Jewish practice to read the OT in the sacred language before giving the rendering into the vernacular. It is difficult to think of any other useful purpose that the Second Column could serve. To a biblical student who knew

⁶ Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri... Fasciculus VIII. Enoch and Melito*. Plates (London, 1941).

⁷ G. Zuntz, "On the Opening Sentence of Melito's Paschal Homily," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXVI (1943), 299-315.

⁸ *Dominican Studies*, II, 2 (Oxford, 1949), 183-94.

Hebrew it would be superfluous; to one who did not, it would be unintelligible. But it could be very useful indeed for the purpose of liturgical reading of a sacred text, in a language no longer understood, as a preliminary to the reading of a translation." For this purpose it was necessary not only for Christians, but also for large circles of Jews.

The exact dating of the underscript of the Hexapla in the Milan palimpsest is not so essential because we can be sure that the copyists of the Hexapla text took care to reproduce their original as closely as possible. This must of course have been especially the case when it was a matter of reproducing the letters of a foreign language. As we now find in all the five columns of the Hexapla palimpsest the name of God invariably given as the Tetragrammaton written in Hebrew square letters (יהוה), there can be no doubt whatever that the copyists were careful to write down as accurately as possible what Origen wrote in the original of his Hexapla.

We should, however, consider that not only in the Second Column of the Hexapla, but also in the columns of Aquila and Symmachus, and in the LXX and Quinta (with the Sexta) Origen copied *Jewish* Bible texts in which the name of God was written in Hebrew as יהוה, read by the Jews as *adonai* and by the Christians as *κύριος*. It was the later copyists who first in the LXX column by the side of the name of God in Hebrew square letters often wrote the abbreviated form of *κύριος* to which they were accustomed.

Dr. Soisalon-Soininen, a pupil of Professor A. F. Puukko in Helsinki, who published eight years ago a book on the textual form of the LXX translation of the book of Judges,⁹ has recently carried further his work on the LXX, concentrating on the additions indicated by Origen provided with asterisks.¹⁰ He points out that what he regards as the revised text of the LXX column of Origen's Hexapla, that is to say, the text in which the asterisked additions are incorporated, was widely diffused. Besides, almost all LXX MSS that we possess have additions which in other MSS are provided with asterisks. Moreover we know that the LXX, even before the so-called younger translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, was assimilated to the Hebrew text. We know this from a leather scroll of the Greek Minor Prophets described in *Revue Biblique* (1953),¹¹ by Barthélemy, who dated it toward the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century A. D., while C. H. Roberts and other experts were convinced that the Scroll was written in pre-Christian times, cer-

⁹ *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches = Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, B. Tom. LXXII, 1 (Helsinki, 1951).

¹⁰ *Der Charakter der asterisierten Zusätze in der Septuaginta = Annales . . . B. Tom. 114* (Helsinki, 1959).

¹¹ P. E. Kahle, "A Leather Scroll of the Greek Minor Prophets and the Problem of the Septuagint," in *Opera Minora* (Leiden, 1956), pp. 113-27.

tainly not later than A. D. 50. Yet, it remains true that the influence of the Hexapla was very far-reaching. The main task is, as Thackeray has shown, to distinguish the Hexaplaric from the older material.

Soisalon-Soininen's work is confined to the asterisked material, that is to say, to the material foreign to the old LXX. He considers very carefully the various problems raised by the additions provided with asterisks. It is a pity that the author was unable to make use of the edition of the Hexapla palimpsest of the Ambrosiana discovered by Mercati, of which the first part, to which I have referred above, was published in September 1958 after Mercati's death, under the editorship of Professor Castellino.¹² Mercati thought this underscript was written in the 9th or 10th century; yet even if, as Professor Paul Maas, a special authority on MSS of this period, has assured me, the text cannot have been written before the 11th century, we are here confronted with a part of the Hexapla which ultimately goes back to the original of Origen. Even though it has come down to us through a chain of copies it can still be taken as a substitute for the original.

When I wrote to Soisalon-Soininen about the asterisked additions to the LXX, and drew his attention to the fact that this specimen of the Hexapla does not contain any asterisks or obeli at all, in any of the five columns preserved, he was somewhat taken aback and suggested that the column of the Milan Hexapla fragment which Mercati thought to be the LXX was in fact not the LXX. It seemed to him inconceivable that in the Hexapla of Origen there should have been a LXX column without any diacritical signs. Since Origen himself writes of having corrected the copies of the OT that lay before him, using asterisks and obeli (*ad Matthaeum* 15 14), Soisalon-Soininen assumes that the work corrected by Origen in this way formed the Hexapla. A second possibility, he thinks, would be the Tetrapla; but that so much labor was spent on a work unknown to us he regards as inconceivable. Origen refers not only to *parts* of the OT. It was the whole OT which was worked out by him in this way.

Soisalon-Soininen has clearly not thought of the possibility that the Hexapla could have been simply the foundation of the work of Origen on textual criticism and that the collection of important Jewish Bible texts which the Hexapla contains gave him the material for his work. We can, I believe, be quite certain that neither in the Hexapla nor in the Tetrapla did the LXX column have any diacritical signs.

But from the palimpsest deciphered by Mercati we can infer much more. One observation I should like to make is this: the name of God is throughout in all the five columns written as the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew square letters. That there were *Christian* LXX MSS in Origen's

¹² See above, n. 5.

time in which the name of God was written in Hebrew square letters is directly contrary to all that we otherwise know.

There are Greek Bible MSS known which are earlier than Origen. The Chester Beatty papyrus with the text of Numbers and Deuteronomy¹³ must have been written, according to Kenyon, before the middle of the second century A. D. It was therefore already in existence in Origen's time. In the Milan palimpsest of the Hexapla we have texts of the Psalms, which are not to be found in the Chester Beatty papyri. But Psalm texts on papyrus *are* to be found in the Biblioteca Bodmeriana in Geneva-Coligny. I have seen photographs of a specimen from the 2nd or 3rd century, a MS therefore from about the time of Origen. The name of God in this Psalm-MS is given — as in all other cases of Christian LXX MSS — in an abbreviated form of *κϋριος*. As Origen, in the LXX column of his Hexapla, wrote the name of God in Hebrew square letters, it is quite impossible that he copied a *Christian* text. He must have copied a *Jewish* text, as in the other columns of the Hexapla — the Second Column, Aquila, Symmachus, and the Quinta (with various readings of the Sexta). There can be no doubt that these other columns were copied from Jewish MSS. For his LXX column also, Origen must have copied a Jewish MS.

Until recently, Greek Bible MSS written by Jews for Jews were completely unknown to us. They must certainly have existed. They were the source from which the early Christians had to learn the Bible. As almost nothing of the kind has been preserved, we can only conclude that the Jews must at some time have intentionally destroyed whatever traces they could of the Greek Bible existing in the earliest Christian times. A few fragments of Jewish MSS of the Greek Bible have recently become known. My latest discussion of them is contained in my article: "The Greek Bible and the Gospels."¹⁴ They all come from pre-Christian times. Professor F. M. Cross, of Harvard University, has recently told me that several more fragments of a similar kind have been found. Let us hope that they will be made available in the near future.

All Greek translations of the Bible made by Jews for Jews in pre-Christian times must have used, as the name of God, the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew characters and not *κϋριος*, or abbreviations of it, such as we find in the Christian LXX codices. Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin in his bulky work: *Κυριος als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stellung in der Religionsgeschichte*, edited in three large volumes, (Giessen, 1926-29) by Otto Eissfeldt, tried to prove that the translation of the name of God

¹³ Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* . . . Fasc. V, *Numbers and Deuteronomy* (London, 1935).

¹⁴ *Studia Evangelica. Papers presented to the International Congress on "The Four Gospels in 1957"* . . . , ed. Kurt Aland, F. L. Cross, Jean Danielou, Harald Riesenfeld, and W. C. Van Unnik (Berlin, 1959), pp. 613-23.

by *κύριος* belongs to the original of the so-called LXX. This idea is completely refuted by the papyrus material in Egypt and Palestine. It is the same with the material from Christian times. As we have seen, a clear proof is given by the Ambrosian palimpsest of the Hexapla discovered and deciphered by Cardinal Mercati. In all five columns it renders the name of God by יהוה, the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew square letters.

This conclusion is further supported by the fact that in the Hellenistic Jewish missionary literature of the 3rd and 2nd pre-Christian centuries we have no evidence for *κύριος* used as a proper name. We do not know exactly at what time the Tetragrammaton was rendered by *κύριος*. The NT scholar Dr. S. Schulz of Erlangen, with whom I have discussed these problems on several occasions, believes it possible that the change of usage regarding the name of God may have originated in the first pre-Christian century, since we see in Philo and Sapiaientia Salomonis for the first time evidence for the use of the word *κύριος* for God. I shall not discuss here the Sapiaientia Salomonis. But I have expressed to Schulz my doubts as to the value, in this connection, of the Philo MSS, since they are all of Christian origin, and Philo became really known to the Jews only over a thousand years after his death. Schulz agrees that little can be drawn from Philo MSS. He is preparing a long report on these problems for the next issue of the *Theologische Rundschau*.

As long ago as 1903, Eduard Schwartz explained in his important article in the Göttingen Academy, "Zur Geschichte der Hexapla"¹⁵ that it was believed until a short time ago that of the Hexapla no more than the LXX column was complete and in the case of the other columns only spurious variants had been preserved. The entire position has been changed by Mercati's discovery in the Ambrosian palimpsest of about 150 verses of the Psalms in the full Hexapla version.¹⁶ Schwartz pointed out the right interpretation of a passage in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* in the same article, and hoped that his arguments might put "the excellent and learned investigator" in a position to make full use of his own brilliant discovery and to launch in the not too distant future a new era in the study of the Hexapla. This new era has, today, 56 years after these words were written, become a necessity to a far greater extent than Eduard Schwartz could have imagined.

¹⁵ *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1903, H. 6.

¹⁶ Cf. my book, *The Cairo Geniza* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1941 [London, 1947]), pp. 161 f.; 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1959), p. 241.

THE SON OF MAN

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THE problem of the Son of man has been dealt with so often and in such a detailed way that it seems almost impossible to add anything helpful. Nonetheless investigations in other fields of NT theology and criticism may help us to see this problem at least in some of its points from a new angle. I am trying therefore first to give a résumé of the results of an article of mine¹ and then to go some steps beyond that. Of course I do not claim to have solved this riddle. I should be glad, if I succeeded in giving some hints stimulating further investigation by more learned colleagues.

European students interested in this question have been challenged anew by an article of Philip Vielhauer² who took up the argument of H. B. Sharman³ that Son of man and kingdom of God are, with one exception, never combined in the old strata of the Synoptic tradition. He deduces from this fact that, since it is doubtless that Jesus preached the kingdom of God, it is obvious that he did not use the term Son of man at all. There is one fact which stands against this deduction.⁴ The term is to be found some 80 times in the NT and with just one exception only in the words of Jesus (including of course the words attributed to him). The contrary can be stated with regard to the term "Christ," which occurs a great many times in predications of the church or in statements of other people talking about Jesus, but practically never in his mouth. The same is true for "Servant of God," a title which like Son of man disappeared in the later church. We find that expression 5 times in the NT and 10-15 times in the Apostolic Fathers as a title used by the early church, but never as a self-designation by Jesus. We may add the question, whether the church, if she had really introduced

¹ In German: *ZNW*, 50 (1959), pp. 185-209 (published only a few days before the paper was read at the meeting of SBLE in New York, on Dec. 30, 1959).

² P. Vielhauer in *Festschrift für G. Dehn*, 1955, pp. 51 ff., adopted by H. Conzelmann in *ZTK*, 54 (1957), pp. 277 ff.

³ *Son of Man and Kingdom of God*, 1943, pp. 89 f.; cf. H. A. Guy, *The New Testament Doctrine of the Last Things*, pp. 81 f. I do not think that the references given by A. J. B. Higgins in *New Testament Essays* (memorial volume T. W. Manson), p. 130, solve this problem.

⁴ Cf. J. Knox, *Jesus Lord and Christ*, p. 92; F. Jackson — K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I, pp. 374 ff.

this title of Son of man, could have invented sayings like Mark 8 38 or 14 62 where the Son of man seems to be distinguished from the "I" of Jesus. And would not the church have combined at once this title with the expectation of the kingdom of God at least as well as Jesus is supposed to have done by Vielhauer? But the challenge of Vielhauer's article still remains: how is it to be explained that kingdom of God and Son of man are almost never combined in our texts?

It is impossible to repeat here the whole analysis of the Synoptic material. I think that a careful analysis proves just the contrary of what is taken for granted in the whole German literature. Out of the three well-known groups of Son of man sayings it is the group dealing with the parousia which does not provide us with a single word, the genuineness of which is beyond all doubt. Mark 8 38, where the Son of man is distinguished from the "I" of Jesus, has a Q parallel in Luke 12 8 f.: "Every one who acknowledges me before men, the Son of man also will acknowledge before the angels of God." Here the Son of man is not the coming savior of the parousia conception, but the exalted one who witnesses in favor of or against the accused in the last judgment.⁴⁸ The second word to be mentioned here is the much disputed assertion of Jesus in the trial: "You will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mark 14 62). I disagree with J. A. T. Robinson and his predecessors⁴⁹ insofar as I cannot interpret the coming of the Son of man which follows his sitting at the right hand of God as his exaltation to heaven. But I do agree with him insofar as I think that there are many reasons to believe that the original form of the word referred to the exaltation and vindication of the Son of man. For it is a very strange assumption that the Jewish judges of Jesus will see the Son of man sitting *and* coming. One should expect them to see him either sitting on the throne of the heavenly lord or coming for judgment. So it seems probable that the saying originally ran in the reverse sequence or that the reference to his coming was a subordinate clause. This may be supported by the fact that the clouds are the vehicle of exaltation in Enoch 14 8 (perhaps also in 39 3) as well as in Acts 1 9; I Thess 4 17 and Rev 11 12, whereas we know no Jewish passage expecting the Son of man or a similar figure coming down from heaven.

The second group which contains predictions of the passion and resurrection has certainly been elaborated by the church in many details. Nonetheless the verb *paradidosthai* is used so often of the Son of man that he must have been said to have been "handed over" at a very early stage of the tradition. Thus it is probable that Jesus spoke of himself as

⁴⁸ Cf. Vincent Taylor, *Expository Times* 58 (1946-47), p. 12.

⁴⁹ J. A. T. Robinson, *Jesus and His Coming*, pp. 43 ff.; also in *Expository Times*, 67 (1955-56), pp. 337 f.; cf. T. F. Glasson, *The Second Advent*, 1945, pp. 63 ff.

the Son of man who was to be humiliated and rejected by men, yet exalted by God. I am almost convinced that the story of Peter's confession is right at least to the extent that Jesus neither denied nor accepted the title Christ, but corrected it by the statement that the Son of man had to suffer and to be rejected. For this statement only or a very similar one could have caused the protest of Peter and the harsh rebuke of Jesus calling him "Satan" which cannot have been invented by the church.

But be that as it may, the most important group of the Son of man sayings is the third, which describes his humble life on earth. Although we cannot reach an absolute certainty, some of these sayings would be difficult to explain, if they did not go back to Jesus himself. There is the word in Q that the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head (Matt 8 20). There is the rebuke of this generation, which will have no sign except the Son of man, who, like Jonah, is calling them to repent (Luke 11 30). There is the reproach of the Son of man who came eating and drinking and was called a glutton and a drunkard (Matt 11 19), which is part of a discussion in which the Baptist, in contrast to the view of the church, is neither the forerunner nor the competitor of Jesus. Two more words might be genuine, though they are scarcely reported in their original context and are therefore not easy to be traced, namely, the sayings about the Son of man being lord of the Sabbath and having the authority to forgive sins. With more confidence we can add to this section two words which are put by Luke into an eschatological context: "The days are coming when you will desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, and you will not see it" (Luke 17 22), and "As it was in the days of Noah, so will it be in the days of the Son of man. They ate, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day when Noah entered the ark and the flood came and destroyed them all" (Luke 17 26 f.). Of course, Luke thinks of the day of the parousia, but it seems quite obvious that the sayings meant originally the days of the earthly career of Jesus in which men rejected his warning and went unrepentant into the coming disaster. It is just another example for the rule, observed by Jeremias in his book on the parables of Jesus,⁶ that calls to repentance in view of the coming crisis have been split up into commandments of a timeless ethic on the one hand and predictions of the parousia on the other, because the church came to know that the days of the earthly ministry of Jesus were not immediately followed by the last judgment.

Resuming these results, for the proof of which I must refer again to my article, we discover a very interesting fact. The Son of man described in those sayings which seem to be original is a man who lives a lowly life on earth, rejected, humiliated, handed over to his opponents, but eventually exalted by God and to be the chief witness in the last judg-

⁶ *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, 1955, p. 142.

ment. This picture is very similar to that of the humiliated and exalted righteous one which is to be found in Wisdom 2-5, where however the term Son of man does not appear. Could it be that Jesus himself understood his mission in the light of this picture of the suffering righteous man?

I think there is much to be said in favor of this view. First, we have Jewish sources in which the Son of man is supposed to appear and to act at the end of the aeon, but he never comes down from heaven.⁷ On the other hand, there is at least one passage describing him as being exalted from his earthly life to heaven and installed in glory, which all who have followed his way will share with him. I am referring, of course, to Ethiopic Enoch⁸ 70-71 which, according to M. Black,⁹ is probably the oldest part of this literature. This is obscured a bit by the fact that neither the translation of Charles nor that of Kautzsch contain in 70 1 the reading of some of the oldest manuscripts,¹⁰ according to which Enoch is not lifted up to the Son of man, but is himself the Son of man, just as he is in chap. 71.¹¹ This pattern of the humiliated, suffering, dying, and exalted righteous who will bear witness against his unrepenting contemporaries is widespread in late Judaism though otherwise not associated with the title Son of man. It seems to be the pattern for the ministry of Jesus. He takes up the term Son of man, on the one hand because it was no customary title and could design a humble "man" as well as an "eschatological" figure,¹² on the other, perhaps, because in Daniel 7 the Son of man is the representative of the suffering and finally exalted Israel,¹³ and in Ezekiel he is the prophet anticipating the suffering and the coming glory of the nation.¹⁴

⁷ Even S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, pp. 388-393, who stresses the eschatological character of the Son of man, shows that his eschatological epiphany was thought of in terms of enthronement. The first concept of this enthronement of Jesus identified it with his ascension; a secondary development only removed it to the parousia, because the cosmic dimensions of this event seemed to be lacking in Jesus' ascension.

⁸ Its pre-Christian origin, however, is not absolutely certain (F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, p. 150, n. 7), although the fragments of Enoch as yet found in Qumran are so few that the absence of any one containing a part of the Similitudes may be casual or due to the particular apocalyptic view of these chapters having been disliked by the sect.

⁹ *Journal of Theological Studies*, N. S. 3 (1952), pp. 1 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹ S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, pp. 437 ff., thinks that Son of man is not used in a technical way in chap. 71. But as soon as one takes seriously that chap. 70-71 is an independent unit, his argument ceases to be convincing. He observes, however, the relation of the Son of man to the "righteous one" in the other parts of the Similitudes (pp. 359, 377 ff.).

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 347 f.

¹³ C. K. Barrett in *New Testament Essays* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins), pp. 11-14; cf. also R. H. Fuller, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus*, pp. 103 f., and F. F. Bruce, *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 103.

¹⁴ Cf. for instance, W. Eichrodt in *Evangelische Theologie*, 19 (1959), pp. 1 ff.

Second, the only passage where the Son of man appears outside the gospels is Acts 7 56, disregarding two references to Daniel 7 in Revelation, because Son of man is there not a proper title but a parabolic description of the appearance of Jesus. In Acts 7 56, however, the Son of man is the exalted one, probably witnessing beside the throne of God in behalf of his faithful disciple. This scene of the Son of man standing upright, as well as the use of this term outside the words of Jesus, is so unusual that the report seems to go back to the very event of the execution of Stephen.

Third, we find several Son of man sayings in John. They belong to a special stratum of the tradition, as S. Schulz has shown in his dissertation.¹⁵ Almost all of them speak of the exaltation and glorification of the Son of man, one of them of his rôle in the last judgment.

Fourth, there seems to be one important objection to this view: the Synoptists speak of the resurrection of Jesus, but very rarely, if at all, of his exaltation. This has blocked the way for a long time. But it is agreed, I think, among scholars that the tradition of the Easter events has undergone a considerable transformation. There can be no question but that Paul puts his own experience at Damascus into the context of all the appearances of the risen lord. This shows that he considered them as revelations of the exalted Christ from heaven. When I Cor 15 5-8 is compared with the Synoptic reports it is clear that the Synoptists no longer possess any genuine tradition about what really happened. Texts like Acts 2 36 or 13 33 prove that the exaltation of Jesus marked for the first believers in Jerusalem the start of his lordship or even of his sonship. A similar view forms the background of the description of the risen lord in Matthew. Obviously Jesus is there supposed to speak as the heavenly lord, exalted to glory and power: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me . . . and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age" (Matt 28 18, 20). That this belief in the exalted lord, who revealed himself as being in divine glory from Easter till the last day, was really the focus of the creed in the very first stage of the church is shown also by the formulas which contain the oldest material of the NT. This is true for the formula which underlies Rom 1 4: "... designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead." Paul quotes here a primitive creed according to which the sonship of Jesus started with his resurrection, which was thought of as exaltation to his heavenly lordship. This is shown also by the many hints to the lordship of Jesus in Paul's letters, e. g., I Cor 12 3; Rom 10 9 or 8 34; and by an early hymn like I Tim 3 16 "manifested in the (sphere of) flesh, vindicated in the (sphere of) Spirit."¹⁶ Thus I think that the early creeds

¹⁵ *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohnchristologie im Johannesevangelium*, pp. 96 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. my book *Lordship and Discipleship*, pp. 56 ff. I tried to show how widespread the pattern of the suffering and exalted one was both in late Judaism and Early Christianity (pp. 22 ff., 32 ff.).

and hymns preserved in the letters of the NT, the first report of the Easter events in I Cor 15, the Matthean description of the apparition of the risen lord, the story of Stephen's death, an old stratum of Son of man words in John and the Jewish parallels make it pretty clear that the earliest conception of Easter was expressed in terms of exaltation to heaven.

Granted that we are not totally wrong in these statements, the difficulty felt by Vielhauer disappears. Jesus proclaimed the kingdom of God. He expected it probably in the very near future. Its coming is caused exclusively by the will and the action of God. Jesus therefore did not combine directly his mission as the Son of man with its coming. He did so, however, insofar as he made clear that this kingdom of God was still future and yet at hand in his words and deeds, namely, every time men decided for or against this kingdom of God by accepting or rejecting his message. The one passage in which Son of man and kingdom of God are united is Luke 17 20-22, 26-30, a passage which fits into this view. Here the kingdom of God is described as the presence of the Son of man calling men to side with God by listening to his message and by repenting in view of his deeds. That this very Son of man will be the chief witness in the last judgment, the prosecutor or the defender — a view expressed in other texts — is just another way of stating the same truth, i. e., that the decision here and now, for or against Jesus' message, is in reality the one which will stand at the time of the last judgment and determine the sentence. But I have to be brief here in order to investigate a further point in view of these results, namely, the much disputed problem of the corporate meaning of the term Son of man.

Let me start from quite another angle. Investigating the Pauline view of the body of Christ, as set forth in Kittel's *Wörterbuch*, I asked myself whether the ideas of the body of Christ occurs anywhere else in the NT in other terminology. I suppose we shall agree that the Johannine vine, as well as the house or temple of God in I Peter, mean almost the same. Where do these images come from? We may, I think, eliminate, at least for John, the possibility that they depend on Paul. There is not the slightest trace of this image of body and members in the NT outside the Pauline letters (including Colossians and Ephesians, which I personally do not consider Pauline in the stricter sense). Thus the idea of the Christ incorporating the church in his own existence is known in other fields of the NT church and is expressed in other terminology. And this terminology obviously comes from the OT and its further development in late Judaism.

I need not repeat what C. H. Dodd has shown for John 15. As Jesus is the good shepherd, in contrast to the Jewish leaders sketched in Ezek 34; so he is the true vine, in contrast to Israel which ceased to be God's

vine. Nor have I to repeat the evidence for the image of the house or temple of God collected by Michel in Kittel, *Wörterbuch*.¹⁷ There is, of course, now the material of the Qumran scrolls to be added which proves that this group already called itself the house or temple of God.¹⁸ I wish, however, to draw attention to one stimulating passage. In Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 12 8-9 Israel is described as the vine of God. This passage is very important, not only in view of the question whether God could plant a new vine as a substitute for the disobedient Israel, and because this image is combined with the other image found in the NT, that of the temple of God, but, chiefly because it contains the idea of a cosmic vine permeating the whole universe, sinking its roots into the abyss, and stretching its branches up to the throne of God.¹⁹ Thus we find the wholly mythological concept of a church-vine or a church-temple of cosmic dimensions in a Jewish source without any Christian influence and probably not later than the NT. This proves that at least the idea of the vine and the temple of God has nothing to do with a supposed pre-Christian Gnostic savior myth. Since this myth has not yet been traced in pre-Christian sources, though the so-called Gnostic world view in general can be found in many texts of late Hellenism before the time of the NT, this Gnostic savior myth is much more likely to be a further development of these Jewish and, in some cases, Christian ideas. This is supported by the fact that there are as yet no Gnostic systems known without a considerable Jewish background. Epictetus and the magic literature show how respected Judaism was in this time of syncretism.²⁰ Moreover, the term "body," to describe a group of Gnostics or of saved souls, never appears in Gnostic writings, as far as I know, except when these clearly depend on Paul.

How did these Jewish concepts of an Israel vine or Israel temple develop into this amazingly new view of John, I Peter, and Paul, in which Jesus Christ, and not the church, is the true Israel, although he is described as the one who includes or incorporates his disciples? Regarding the essential theological kernel of this idea we may answer, of course, that the Christian church was incomparably more aware of her absolute dependence on her Lord than was any other group in late Judaism. I think, however, that we are able to detect the train of ideas which led to this conception.

¹⁷ Cf. also H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, pp. 140-145. He stresses the influence of the concept of the coming heavenly Jerusalem. In the Wisdom literature the cosmos, Israel, or man could be conceived as "house" of the heavenly Wisdom (p. 161).

¹⁸ IQS 8 8-9; 9 3-6. D. Flusser in *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958), p. 233, suggests even a literary dependence of I Peter on IQS 8 4-10; cf. pp. 229 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. the vine as image of the Messiah in II Baruch 36-40, of Wisdom in Sirach 24 17.

²⁰ Epictetus, *Dissertation* ii, 9, 20; W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, pp. 208-211.

One saying in the Johannine Son of man tradition is very suggestive. In 1 ϵ Jesus, the Son of man, takes the place of the patriarch Jacob, upon whom the angels of God descend and ascend. This is shown by the rabbinical interpretation referring the Hebrew *bo* in Gen 28 12, meaning "upon it" or "upon him," not to the ladder, but to Jacob.²¹ Jacob, with his God-given name Israel, is the representative of the whole nation. Thus, in this old stratum underlying John 1 ϵ , the Son of man, in his continuous unity with God, is the true patriarch, the true Israel. In this connection a remark of C. H. Dodd becomes important.²² In Ps 80 16, due to a mistake of a very early writer (since the mistake appears in all Greek and Hebrew texts with small alterations), the vine of God, Israel, is identified with the Son of man. This seems to have helped to identify the vine of John 15 1 ff. with Jesus, so that it is a Son of man tradition again which lies behind this image.

Thus the idea of Jesus representing the true Israel is rooted in a group of the early church which saw in him (as Enoch 70 f. probably did) the divine patriarch. The term Son of man is not understood in a corporate sense, although this latter is not remote, since the new patriarch determines the destiny of the new Israel. The transition from thinking in terms of time to a thinking in terms of space is very usual for this period. Paul, for instance, contrasts the present Jerusalem not to the future, but to the heavenly, one.²³ Thus the patriarch determining all following generations becomes the patriarch including all members of the tribe. In the Jewish passages which we shall quote presently, it is very difficult to tell, whether Jacob is an individual forefather or a heavenly figure actually identical with the whole Israel of all times. The individuality of the Son of man is, however, stressed more in the NT passages, just because the church knew that the historical career of Jesus of Nazareth remained the sole foundation of her life.

But there is much more to be said in favor of this view. That Jesus was regarded in the early church as a new patriarch, a second Jacob-Israel, is not surprising at all. For a long period the patriarch Jacob had been considered a heavenly figure. In a Jewish apocryphal book, the "Prayer of Joseph,"²⁴ Jacob, whose divine name is Israel, is the first of all creatures, Lord over all archangels, angel of God, and first Spirit.

²¹ C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John*, p. 156. Cf. the comparison between the "Messiah" Jesus and the "forefather Jacob" in John 4 12, 26.

²² C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 411 f.

²³ Gal 4 25 f. Cf. Philo, *Op. Mundi* 26; *Aetern.* 4; *Stoic. Vet. Fragm.* II, 509 f.; also Philo, *Somn.* I, 61 f.; *Leg. All.* I, 44. In I Cor 1 20 the temporal term "aeon" is identified with the spatial one "world."

²⁴ Quoted by Origen, *In Evang. Jo.* 2 31 (25) - *Griech. christl. Schriftsteller*, Vol. 10, pp. 88 f.; cf. *Comm. in Gen.* 3 12 (19) [Migne, *Patr. Graeca* 12, 81].

Here Israel is represented by its patriarch, who is a divine being, higher than all angels. The date of this entirely Jewish section is uncertain. We find, however, the same assertion in Philo.²⁵ With him Jacob is indeed the first-born Logos, first of all angels. He is called the beginning, the name of God, the Logos, the Man according to the image (of God); and his sons, the Israelites, are sons of the Logos, of the invisible image of God. At the same time he is the "seeing one," Israel. That means: long before John and Paul, Judaism understood Israel to be represented by the patriarch Jacob, who is identical with both the heavenly Adam and the Logos of God, and higher than all angels.

This shows, I think, that Paul's view of Christ as the second Adam, stressed by W. D. Davies in the context of Son of man ideas,²⁶ is nothing else than a variant of the conception that forms the background of the Johannine Son of man tradition leading to the image of the new Israel vine. Speaking in terms of Israel, the prototype is Jacob; speaking in terms of mankind, the prototype is Adam. Both are identified by the time of Philo with each other and with the divine Logos, the son of God. That it really was a Son of man concept which led Paul to conceive of Jesus Christ as the second Adam, is very probable. I need not quote again the evidence in Philo, the Life of Adam and Eve, and other writings in which the restitution of Adam to his former divine glory is hoped for.²⁷ W. D. Davies and others have done that. How self-evident this pattern was for both Paul and the church becomes clear in Rom 5 12 ff. and I Cor 15 21 ff. In both passages, and nowhere else in Paul's letters, Christ is called *anthropos*, "man," so casually as to suggest that this title was already usual for him when compared with Adam. In Rom 5 13 it is only Jesus, not Adam, who is so named. In I Cor 15 27 Ps 8 is quoted, as if it were self-evident that the Son of man mentioned there is Jesus.²⁸ So the pattern of Christ representing the true Israel or the new mankind by incorporating

²⁵ *Confus. Ling.* 146-148.

²⁶ *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, pp. 41 ff.

²⁷ For the concept of Adam as a spiritual being fallen into matter cf. also Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* 1 53; *Leg. All.* III, 69 (?); Origen, *Hom. in Gen.* 1 13; *Princ.* II, 3, 3; *c. Cels.* 4, 40; *Comm. in Jo.* 1 17; W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, pp. 83 f. For Qumran cf. IQS 4 23; CD 3 20; IQH 17 15; IQPp 37 II, 2 and P. Geoltrain, *Theol. Zeitschrift Basel*, 15 (1959), p. 253.

²⁸ E. F. Scott, *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians* (Moffatt N. T. Comm.), *ad loc.*, ventures the question whether Ps 8 7 was not referred to the Messiah already in pre-Pauline rabbinic speculations, and H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, p. 88, takes it for granted. Neither indicated the slightest evidence for such an assumption. In the Qumran literature neither the Son of man (F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* . . . , p. 150, n. 7; p. 166) nor Ps 8 (Index in Th. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures*, and Ch. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*) are to be found. Cf. also the indices in D. Barthélemy - I. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*.

his disciples in some way is known to John and I Peter as well as Paul. In John and Paul it goes back to a view of the Son of man as patriarch determining or including his people.

Before summarizing let me affirm that I do not think that this alone explains the concept of the "body of Christ." The Stoic usage of *soma* is an important influence,²⁹ since Paul in his undisputed letters speaks rather of the "one body in Christ" than of the "body of Christ," a phrase that appears but once. Even more essential is his idea that the crucified body of Christ (Rom 7 4) is still present in the church, which lives by Jesus' sacrifice on the cross (I Cor 10 16; 11 27).³⁰ As "blood" means the event of Jesus' death in its still prevailing saving effect on the believer, so "body" means this death which is still present in the church by the blessing and challenge which it brings to her. But that does not belong to our problem. It shows, however, how Paul could express this view of the inclusiveness of Jesus Christ, whose death and resurrection are present and all-determining realities for Paul and his church, in the common pattern of Christ as the second Adam. As all the Levites were included in the body or in the loins of the patriarch Abraham, according to Heb 7 4-10, so the church is included in this body of her patriarch which died and was raised for her sake. Expressed in Pauline language, this means that *through* the "man" (which is in Aramaic the "son of man") Jesus or *in* him the new mankind will be raised, as the old one died *through* and in the "man" Adam (I Cor 15 21 f.). So Paul provides the universalistic variant of the originally more nationalistic idea in the background of the Fourth Gospel.

Let me summarize: a) Jesus saw his mission in the pattern of the suffering righteous, finally exalted by God as described in Ps 22 and particularly in Wisdom 2-5. In this way he fulfilled what Israel should have done. He adopted the term Son of man just because it was an ambiguous term, revealing as well as hiding. If and how far he was aware of the fact that this image depicted the suffering Israel to be exalted by God in Daniel or her representative in Ezekiel, is uncertain.

b) In pre-Christian Judaism the images of vine and temple designated Israel as a cosmic entity permeating the whole universe from hell to heaven. This is taken over in the NT, with the striking difference that Jesus Christ himself, incorporating, however, his disciples, is the vine (or the cornerstone of the temple) put in contrast to the old Israel. In

²⁹ The only Greek text earlier than the Byzantine era in which *soma* could be understood in a corporate sense (like our "a body of Greeks") has to be interpreted in a different way (in opposition to T. W. Manson, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), p. 385; cf. A. Wilhelm, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 65 (1944), p. 31).

³⁰ The Hebrew time conception is dealt with in an illuminating way by Th. Boman, *Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem griechischen*, pp. 104 ff., especially pp. 118-126; cf. R. Bultmann in *Gnomon*, 27 (1955), pp. 556 f.

Paul a similar view is expressed in the image of the body including its members.

c) In both John and Paul traces are to be found that this view roots in a tradition which considered Jesus as the new patriarch. It is Jacob in John 1 51 (and 4 12), Adam in Rom 5 12 ff. and I Cor 15 21 ff. Both are identified with the Son of man, expressly in John 1 51, probably in the background of John 15 1 ff., almost certainly in Paul's unique use of "man" as designating Jesus in both passages mentioned above. This is exactly what we should expect from the fact that in pre-Christian Jewish literature the representative of Israel was conceived as the heavenly image of God, and God's son, the Logos, who is higher than all angels.

d) Thus the meaning of the term Son of man used by Jesus changed in the early church. On the one hand it became the title of the coming Christ in the parousia, because the rôle of Christ shifted from that of a decisive witness to that of the judge himself coming for judgment like the Lord in the OT. On the other hand it was associated with the idea of Christ as the true Israel. Originally this may have meant no more than Jesus being the true Israelite fulfilling what all Israelites should have done but did not do. But gradually this grew into the concept of Jesus being the Son of man as the new patriarch, either Jacob as representing a new Israel or Adam as representing a new mankind. This led to the images of the Christ vine, Christ temple, and Christ body. This was the final expression of the truth already included in Jesus' own words and deeds: that nobody could find his real life except in an absolute dependence on Jesus' message and acts, sharing his trust in God, his obedience, his freedom, his sonship, and following him into a real discipleship.

"THE SABBATH WAS MADE FOR MAN?"

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THE pericope (Mark 2 23-28) with which we are concerned is one of a block of controversy-stories, which Mark probably found already arranged in sequence in his source.¹ It will be generally agreed that it was preserved in the tradition because of its relevance to the continuing controversy between Jews and Christians over the question of sabbath observance. In the gentile churches, this will not have been a burning question in itself; it will have arisen only as one aspect of the much broader issue of how far the Law of Moses was held to be binding upon Christians. Insofar as the pericope is a community-product, accordingly, it will be regarded as a product of Palestinian Jewish Christianity, not of the hellenistic churches. The way to understanding will therefore lie through the examination of Jewish traditions and modes of thought.

Modern commentators generally agree in regarding the pericope as composite, even in its Markan form. They suggest that it consists first of a "pronouncement-story" (to use Vincent Taylor's classification), which is complete with Jesus' reply of vs. 26 — the appeal to the example of David; and that vss. 27 and 28 are supplementary sayings, originally independent of the story proper, but attached to it by the process of agglomeration which we often have occasion to observe in the Synoptics. It is often held, further, that vs. 27, which is not represented in either Luke or Matthew, is an interpolation, or at least that vss. 27 and 28 were originally distinct sayings, since vs. 28, "Therefore the Son of man is lord of the sabbath," is not really a natural inference from the saying of vs. 27, "The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath." Those who feel it necessary to separate the two sayings generally regard vs. 28 as prior, and vs. 27 as secondary; but Vincent Taylor is inclined rather to hold that vs. 27, and in the sense "The sabbath was made for man," is an authentic saying of Jesus, while vs. 28 is "a Christian comment expressing the conviction that Jesus is the Lord of all that belongs to man, including the Sabbath."²

The difficulty of taking vss. 27 and 28 together lies in the apparent *non sequitur*, which is involved in the shift from "man" in vs. 27 to "Son of man" in vs. 28. But it is apparent that in Aramaic these would represent different translations of the one phrase *bar nasha*; and the sayings

¹ M. Albrecht, *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche*, pp. 5-16. Cf. W. L. Knox, *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, I, "Mark," chap. 1., "The First Group of Conflict-Stories" (pp. 8-16).

² *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 220.

become complementary if we take the underlying Aramaic into account, and either translate *bar nasha* as "man" throughout, or as "Son of man" throughout. Professor Torrey, in his well-known version,³ opts for "man," and translates boldly: "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath; therefore man is master even of the sabbath." Professor T. W. Manson, although in his earlier days he regarded this as quite acceptable, changed his view afterwards and in his later writings⁴ advocated the rendering: "The sabbath was made for the Son of man, and not the Son of man for the sabbath; therefore the Son of man is lord also of the sabbath." With either of these renderings, there is no difficulty in taking vs. 28 as the conclusion drawn from vs. 27; if "the sabbath was made for man," then it may very well be said that "man is master of the sabbath"; or if "the sabbath was made for the Son of man," then it will follow that "the Son of man is lord of the sabbath."

T. W. Manson linked his interpretation with his well-known hypothesis that Jesus uses "Son of man" as a collective or corporate term, based upon the Danielic identification of the "one like a son of man," to whom was given "dominion and glory and kingdom," with "the saints of the Most High" (Dan 7 13, 14, 18). There is, however, a long leap from this figure of apocalyptic vision, this symbolic figure which comes "with the clouds of heaven," and the modest terrestrial company of itinerant Galileans headed by Jesus. It is to me utterly inconceivable that Jesus should have used the term in any such sense, or that anyone should have understood him if he had done so.⁵ But the validity of Manson's proposal to render "Son of man" consistently throughout the two verses holds quite as firm when we interpret "Son of man" as an individual designation for Jesus himself, a designation which in the Synoptic tradition is a surrogate for "Messiah," however the early church may have arrived at this peculiar equation — a question which is far from settled. As a self-designation of Jesus, it may have been no more than a surrogate for the personal pronoun "I"; but to the evangelists, as to the churches which transmitted the tradition, this "I" will always have conveyed the sense, "I, as Messiah." The saying, then, may be taken as the reply of the early Jewish church to the accusation that it is not properly observing the law of the sabbath. It makes no attempt to plead that the oral tradition has multiplied the applications of the sabbath law into numberless trifling details,⁶ and that the law in itself does not forbid plucking grain, for instance. It simply puts forward

³ *The Four Gospels: A New Translation.*

⁴ *Coniectanea Neotestamentica XI: In Honorem A. Fridrichsen*, "Mark ii.27 f.," pp. 138-146.

⁵ Cf. J. Knox, *The Death of Christ*, chap. 3, "The Psychological Question," esp. pp. 71 f.

⁶ Mishnah, Tractate *Hagigah* 1, 8: "The rules about the Sabbath . . . are as mountains hanging by a hair, for Scripture is scanty and the rules many."

the authority of Jesus as sufficient justification for conduct which the Pharisees hold is not lawful. The authority of the "Son of man," that is, of the Messiah, the King of Israel, overrides the sabbath law. The sabbath was made for him.

On the other hand, the sentiment that "the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath," and that "man is master of the sabbath" is wholly inconceivable in any Jewish teacher, including Jesus; it sounds more like Protagoras of Abdera. As far as the traditional Jewish doctrine is concerned, Professor Manson demonstrated that the rabbis insisted that the sabbath was made for Israel, and not for mankind in general; that the sabbath rest is a privilege which God has conferred uniquely upon Israel. Not only that, but these teachers would be far from using their doctrine that "the sabbath was made for Israel" to justify the conclusion that "Israel is master of the sabbath" and that consequently the individual Israelite could break the provisions of the sabbath law if he found it uncomfortable or inconvenient to keep them. Similarly, even if we were to concede "the possibility that Jesus took a wider view of the Sabbath than the Jewish claim that it was made for Israel alone" (Taylor, *St. Mark*, p. 219), we would still find it difficult to believe that he used this "wider view" to justify the breach of the sabbath law by his disciples, merely to satisfy a trifling hunger which they felt on a sabbath afternoon stroll through the fields.⁷

It must be admitted that the saying in the other form: "The sabbath was made for the Son of man," is not without its own difficulties, if we think of it as a saying of Jesus himself. It would amount virtually to the claim: "The sabbath was made for me." But precisely the same difficulty attaches to vs. 28, taken as a saying of Jesus himself; it would amount to the claim: "I am lord of the sabbath." The difficulty disappears if we think of the words as originating not with Jesus, but with the community which acknowledges him as Son of man, that is, as Messiah. In defense against the accusation that they are doing on the sabbath things that are not lawful, they plead that the sabbath law itself is subordinate to the authority of Jesus, the Messiah, for whom the sabbath was made. At some stage in the transmission of the tradition, the words of defense, still in the third person, came to be attributed to Jesus himself.

⁷ Manson anticipated this objection when he wrote: "Surely what is described . . . is not just a quiet Sabbath afternoon stroll. Should we not rather think of Jesus and his disciples really journeying from one place to another on the missionary work of the Kingdom? Should we not think of the plucking of the corn, not as an idle pastime, but as something done to satisfy real hunger?" (*The Sayings of Jesus*, p. 190). It must be said that all this has to be read into the story, which makes no suggestion that the company was so busily engaged in mission work that there was no time to eat, nor that they were so faint with hunger that they must needs snatch a few heads of grain. Also, there remains the question: Why is it only the disciples that are so overcome with hunger? Why is not Jesus himself implicated?

Our next suggestion is that the anecdote of the walk through the grainfields was devised as a setting for this saying, and not for the saying about David and the shewbread. That the setting is in any case artificial hardly needs to be argued, one would suppose, were it not that commentators still take it as a genuine fragment of reminiscence and even argue from it that the incident must have taken place between April and the beginning of June, and even offer it as "the only clear indication in the Synoptic Gospels . . . that the Ministry covered at least a year" (Taylor, *St. Mark*, pp. 214, 216). But how, then, does one explain the presence of the Pharisees? Are we to suppose that they kept company with the disciples on their sabbath afternoon strolls, as a regular practice; or that some of them just happened to be passing by the very fields in which the disciples were plucking the grain? As Lohmeyer puts it, we are not to ask where the Pharisees have come from.⁸ Their presence is as unexpected as that of the shocked scribes in the crowded house at Capernaum, where Jesus healed the paralytic (Mark 2 e). They are lay figures, brought in to voice the criticism which Jesus will answer. We might also comment on the significance of the circumstance that it is only the disciples who are charged with the offence against the law; Jesus is not himself involved, but enters the defense on behalf of his disciples. R. Bultmann with much reason takes this feature as an indication that the pericope reflects the controversy of the church with the Jewish authorities, not a particular conflict of the life of Jesus himself.⁹

But if it be allowed that the setting is artificial, it must surely follow that the saying about David and the shewbread is not the pronouncement of Jesus which it was devised to introduce. Whether this saying be authentic or not, it is not an answer to the charge that the disciples are breaking the sabbath by plucking grain (that is, by reaping). If an anecdote were wanted to introduce the reference to David, which has nothing to do with the law of the sabbath,¹⁰ it would hardly be this.

⁸ *Das Evangelium des Markus*, ad loc., "Woher sie kommen, darf man nicht fragen."

⁹ *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, p. 50. "Dass es aber die Gemeinde war, die diese Geschichten formte, und dass sie — auch wo einheitliche Konzeptionen vorliegen — nicht ohne weiteres geschichtliche Begebenheiten wiedergeben, zeigt sehr deutlich die Tatsache, dass mehrfach das Verhalten der Jünger verteidigt war. Sie raufen am Sabbat Ähren aus, sie fasten nicht in der Weise der Johannes-Jünger, sie essen nicht mit gewaschenen Händen — hat sich denn etwa Jesus in all diesen Dingen so korrekt verhalten, dass er nicht angegriffen wird? . . . Die Jünger sind die Angegriffenen, d.h. die Gemeinde ist es, und sie wehrt sich mit der Berufung auf ihren Meister."

¹⁰ The incongruity is not substantially lessened by the adventitious circumstance that we can dredge up a midrash on I Sam 21 to the effect that the shewbread incident occurred on a sabbath day. The story itself shows no acquaintance with such a notion, nor can we assume that it was a matter of common knowledge. The action of David is not cited as a breach of the law of the sabbath, but only as a violation of the provision which reserved the holy bread for the consumption of the priests.

The suggestion that David's breach of the law which reserved the shewbread for the priests' consumption is justification for the action of the disciples in breaking the law of the sabbath has force only if Jesus is represented as teaching that "necessity knows no law" — that human need justifies the breach of any law.¹¹ It would seem, accordingly, that the anecdote was framed as an introduction to the double saying of vss. 27 and 28, the direct appeal to the superior authority of the Son of man; and that the saying about David and the shewbread is a secondary accretion.

We might go further and suggest that it is only the presence of the Son of man saying which enables us to see any point in the introduction of the reference to David. For it is not suggested that the example of David makes it legitimate for any hungry Israelite to eat the shewbread, or to harvest grain on the sabbath. The example to which appeal is made is the example of David the great king, and those who were in his train. The incident thus becomes a justification for a sovereign freedom towards the ordinary provisions of the law on the part of those who follow in the train of David's greater Son. For the Son of man, the Messiah, is of course also the Son of David, the King of Israel. Thus the appeal to the action of David itself conveys a Messianic claim for Jesus.

It is not hard to see why the two later evangelists have eliminated the saying: "The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath." As it stands in the Greek text of Mark which was before them, they could hardly fail to take it as affirming that man is the measure of all things, and that the observance of God's law is to be subordinated to the passing needs of the individual — he need not be too particular about keeping it if it imposes upon him a trifling hardship. The omission of the mention of Abiathar, of course, rests upon the recognition that Abiathar was not in fact the high priest of the time. Accordingly, the agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark in these two particulars gives us no reason to suppose that they had before them a text of Mark different from our own.

The supplemental sayings in Matt (12 5-7) are themselves secondary to the introduction of the reference to David, and make the Messianic implications explicit. They are linked together by a succession of key-words. First, the saying about the performance of priestly duties on the sabbath is linked to the David saying by the word "priests." The eating of the shewbread is permitted only to the priests; the priests likewise do their work on the sabbath without incurring guilt. This appeal is relevant only on the premise that the disciples are in some sense exercising priestly

¹¹ "There is a general cogency in the reply: human need knows no law; but this is precisely the principle which Jesus repeatedly rejected, according to the Gospels" (F. C. Grant, in *The Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. VII, p. 677).

functions as they walk through the fields on the sabbath — a premise that would certainly not be allowed by the Pharisees, to whom the justification is offered! The point is made explicit by the further accretion of vs. 6: "I tell you, something greater than the temple is here." This appears to have been framed by Matthew himself in analogy with the sayings of vss. 41 and 42 below: "something greater than Jonah, something greater than Solomon is here." It is the Messianic status of Jesus that justifies the freedom of his disciples towards the law. Vs. 7, in turn, is a further accretion, linked to vs. 5 by the word "guiltless"; it could well be an authentic saying of Jesus transferred from some other context (cf. Matt 9 13).

Critical analysis thus indicates several stages in the formation of the pericope. It is doubtful if the saying, or pair of sayings (Mark 2 27-28), from which it all began, can be regarded as authentic. As Bishop Rawlinson remarked (*Commentary on St. Mark, ad loc.*): "Our Lord would not have been likely to say that man was 'lord of the sabbath', which had been instituted by God. On the other hand, it is almost equally unlikely that he would have emphasized his personal lordship of the Sabbath." We take it, accordingly, that the saying originated not with Jesus, but with the apostolic church of Palestine, in controversy with the Pharisees, who took exception to the failure of Christian Jews to keep the sabbath. The Christian reply to the accusation (Jesus, the Son of man, the Messiah, is lord of the sabbath) has then come to be regarded as a saying of Jesus himself, and the little story of the disciples in the grainfields has been created as a frame for the saying. The successive supplements — first the appeal to the example of David; then the appeal to the exercise of duties by the priests — enlarge the area of the claim. Not only the law of the sabbath, but the whole system of Jewish observance is subordinate to the authority of Jesus: something greater than David, something greater than the Temple is here. The followers of Jesus are in the train of "great David's greater Son," and are occupied in the priestly service of the kingdom of God.

We look upon this pericope, then, as based indeed upon some reminiscence of the action and attitudes of Jesus, but as owing its present form and most of its substance to complex adaptations in the course of its transmission, in the service of Christian apologetic against Jewish (Pharisaic) criticism.

It is a striking fact that in all the other stories of the Synoptic tradition which bear upon the conflict over sabbath observance, the question is raised on the more general level of whether the healing of the sick takes precedence over the negative requirements of the sabbath. "You would haul an ox out of a pit on the sabbath; why would you not deliver a human being out of his sufferings?" The Messianic claims of Jesus are not involved. In the Fourth Gospel, however, we shall recall how quickly

the thought passes from the one to the other. In John 5, for instance, the attack is launched in the first instance at the man whom Jesus had healed, not at Jesus himself; and he immediately defends himself by appealing to the authority of the One who has healed him: "He who made me whole, he said to me, 'Lift your bed and walk'" (vs. 11). And within a very few lines, we have the argument transferred to the ground of the fundamental relationship between Jesus and the Father, that is to say, to the Messianic status of Jesus, interpreted (as the Fourth Evangelist consistently interprets it) in terms of the eternal Sonship of Jesus.

It is very difficult for us to discern the terms of the conflict over sabbath observance as it developed during the two or three generations after the death of Christ. The one thing that is clear is that the Christians did not keep the sabbath, and that their attitude brought upon them the fiercest attacks. Except for one passage in the so-called Epistle of Barnabas (chap. xv) there is no suggestion that they ever defended themselves by the plea that they kept sabbath indeed, but on the first day of the week instead of the seventh.¹² It would appear that the general attitude was that the sabbath law was no more binding upon Christians than the law of circumcision. Paul himself appears to be as much opposed to sabbath keeping as to circumcision (Gal 4 10; Col 2 16; Rom 14 5 may perhaps be an indication that he regards it as something indifferent, to be left to the conscience of the individual). This radical break with Jewish religious praxis must go back to Jesus in some sense. His Jewish followers would hardly have initiated such a departure without some warrant from him. But it must be said that the materials at our disposal do not permit us to see how the primitive church in Palestine moved in the matter; they bring us only occasional echoes of the continuing conflict. The extreme bitterness which marked it is clearly enough indicated by the fact that the Synoptic traditions and the Johannine agree in ascribing the initial impulse to put Jesus to death to the hostility aroused by his attitude towards the sabbath (Mark 3 6; John 5 16; 7 19-23). Perhaps the pericope which we have been studying may indicate that the Palestinian church found that it was attacked not only for doing good on the sabbath day, but for trifling contraventions of individuals, technical breaches of no more significance than the plucking of a few ears of grain. It was prepared to defend its beneficent activities by appealing to the example of Jesus, who in the face of criticism healed the sick on the sabbath. To the carping objections raised to trifles of conduct, it was content to plead the overriding authority of Jesus the Lord.

¹² Even in the sixth century, when St. Caesarius of Arles and others had begun to teach that the law of the sabbath was now transferred, for Christians, to the observance of Sunday, the Council of Orleans (538) "reprobated this tendency as Jewish and non-Christian." See the article "Sunday," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XIV, p. 336a.

OFFICIAL AND PIETISTIC ELEMENTS OF JEWISH APOCALYPTICISM

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WE SHALL here study two aspects of Jewish apocalypticism of the intertestamental period (about 200 B. C. – A. D. 100), which seem to be important for understanding the historical setting of this post-prophetic movement. It is a question of "official" and "pietistic" interests represented in apocalyptic contexts.

I

Not seldom it has been assumed that intertestamental apocalypses like First Enoch as well as books which partly represent apocalyptic traditions like the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were composed by sectarian pietists. The idea is that pious dissenters who rejected official policy and would have nothing to do with the worldly authorities were behind these books. One is inclined to think of groups like the "Am ha-Ares," or the Essenes, that is, of pious and humble people who read the holy scriptures but were dissenters or sectarians, like Christian pietists have often been. The fact that fragments of some important apocalyptic books have been found in the Qumran library, which certainly reflects essenism, seems to confirm their connection with a sect like the Essenes. And there are also traces of pietism and sectarianism in the moral teaching of these apocalyptic books.

Yet there is some difficulty in assuming that all intertestamental apocalypses were originally composed by pietistic dissenters like the members of the Qumran movement. For *fundamental parts* of some of these books seem to have an "official, magisterial" character so that they may rather be supposed to have a background among people who supported the authorities.

The relative difference between "official" and "pietistic" interests represented in apocalyptic traditions may be illustrated by the Book of Daniel which, though it belongs to the OT, is of essential importance for understanding the whole apocalyptic literature of the intertestamental period. It divides into two parts insofar as in chaps. 1-6 it is a question of Daniel's career at the royal court, and in chaps. 7-12 of his prophecies about the salvation of the faithful. Although the figure of Daniel remains the same, two different interests are represented in these parts of the book. The first part, Dan 1-6, has so to say a magisterial character insofar as

it shows the young man Daniel in the role of a courtier and political adviser who, although he rejects paganism, assists the heathen king by Jewish wisdom. Daniel here appears to represent the ideal of Jews who had to do with political authorities, maybe as scribes or wise men especially. It is only the second part, Dan 7-12, that is expressly pietistic; for it is not concerned with Daniel's career, but with the fate of the pious who separate themselves from the world in a time of distress and apostasy. Daniel may here be characterized as an expert for sectarians who seek consolation in studying their holy scriptures, that is, those who may be called pietists. As to chronological problems it is evident that the first half of the Book is older because it does not have the same relation to the days of Antiochus Epiphanes as has the second half. Without discussing the development of the Book of Daniel in detail we may thus state that its traditionists seem to have started from official and later included pietistic interests.

Several intertestamental apocalypses and similar works seem to have such a basic relation to officialdom. Most of the intertestamental apocalypses were ascribed to ancient saints who could be regarded as spokesmen of the elect people. And it is scarcely by chance that the greatest of them, I Enoch, IV Esdras, and the Books of Baruch pretend to contain the revelations of classical "scribes." For the eponyms of these writings, Enoch, Ezra, and Baruch, respectively, are presented as ideal holders of a scribe's venerable office. This makes it reasonable to assume that the figures in question are idealizations of scribes and law-teachers who, in post-Exilic times, were of particular importance for the development of Jewish traditions. One may also consider the fact that in the culmination of IV Esdras (14 18-26, 37-48), Ezra is presented as the one who collected the holy scriptures which definitely confirms that he was regarded as the model of Jewish scribes and law-teachers. It may further be noticed that the apocalyptic teaching represented by the Assumption of Moses is referred to Israel's greatest law-teacher. The conclusion seems to be reasonable that behind these "hagionymous" apocalypses there may partly have been intertestamental scribes or law-teachers who found it valuable to circulate their works under the authority of divine scribes of the ancient past.

Furthermore one has to include priests among the probable originators of this literature. A writing like the Book of Jubilees contains apocalyptic teaching which is concentrated on priestly interests such as the legitimate celebration of the great feasts. Sections of I Enoch also include priestly speculation on the calendar and similar problems. And the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs glorify Levi, the ancestor of Jewish priests, more than the other sons of Jacob. The fact that some fragments of the Aramaic Testament of Levi have been found at Qumran seems to be suggestive. It is also important to observe that the Qumran believers who fostered such apocalyptic traditions claimed to have priestly authorities behind them and among them (e. g., 1QpHab ii.7-9; 1QS i.18, 21, etc.). Even if there is strong opposition to the official

priesthood of Jerusalem, these obvious relations to priestly groups confer a somewhat "official" character on the apocalyptic traditions in question.

In this context the differences between scribes and priests are not essential. The very fact that important apocalyptic texts of the intertestamental period represent interests characteristic of scribes and priests is sufficient reason to state that apocalyptic teaching was not only the concern of pious laymen, but also of magisterial groups, even in fundamental points.

Not only with regard to the authorities referred to do the intertestamental apocalyptic traditions show this official, non-sectarian character, but also with regard to their contents. In some important apocalyptic books there are central passages which betray such official interests. This may be illustrated by quotations from two representative books connected with Jewish apocalyptic traditions. One of them, First Enoch, is predominantly apocalyptic; the other, the Testament of Levi, includes significant apocalyptic sections.

Most important in this regard is I Enoch 90 28-42, which is the culmination of Enoch's second dream-vision. It may be emphasized that it belongs to those parts of the books which are represented among the Qumran discoveries, so that its Jewish origin is certain. The fact that the Similitudes in I Enoch 37-71 are not among the Qumran fragments hitherto found does not influence our present discussion. Even if they did not exist in the Qumran community, the rest of the book was there, including chap. 90. Using various animal symbols the passage in question describes the foundation of the messianic kingdom. The whole quasi-historical survey given in the preceding material is a prophecy *ex eventu* leading up to the days in which the author lived; only the conclusive indications of the messianic kingdom are referred to events which actually belong to the future. Except for the introductory prehistoric sections the list contains transparent allusions to the main epochs of Israel's history until the Maccabean revolt and the following wars against the gentiles. Here the Maccabees appear as lambs with horns. The last of them, who arises in the form of a great horn, I Enoch 90 8, is obviously some victorious member of the Hasmonean dynasty. Since he is later described as a conqueror of all nations and establisher of general peace (I Enoch 90 13-19, 34), it is possible to think especially of the greatest of the Hasmonean princes, John Hyrcanus (135-105 B. C.), who had extraordinary military success and who could really be expected to establish peace after having conquered his enemies.¹ It is not unreasonable to assume that the messianic kingdom was believed to have come under this prince and high priest, who was by far the most splendid

¹ G. Beer in E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, II (Tübingen, 1900), 296, rightly considers this identification as more plausible than that with Judas Maccabeus, supported by several other scholars.

of all Hasmonean rulers. But we do not regard this attempt at identification as essential for the study of the present question.

It is evident that here the inauguration of the messianic kingdom is described in terms which are related to ceremonies known to have been connected with Oriental and Hellenistic kingship. To give an impression of the details, the passage in question may be quoted at length, with the addition of some headings to characterize its main items, and of some explanations in the text, I Enoch 90 28-38:²

The rebuilding of the temple

(28) And I [Enoch] stood up to see till they folded up that old house [the temple of Israel], and carried off all the pillars; and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. (29) And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house, greater and loftier than the first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up. All its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which he had taken away. And all the sheep [the righteous Israelites] were within it.

Israelites and gentiles

(30) And I saw all the sheep which had been left [other Israelites], and all the beasts of the earth, and all the birds of the heaven [gentiles], falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in everything.

The enthronement of Enoch

(31) And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me [Enoch] by my hand (who had taken me up before), and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they brought me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgment took place. (32) And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean.

The enthronement gathering

(33) And all that had been destroyed and dispersed [Israelites], and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven [gentiles] assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to his house. (34) And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep [the military power of the Maccabees and Hasmoneans], and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord. And all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not. (35) And the eyes of them all were opened, and they saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see. (36) And I saw that that house was large and broad and very full.

² This as well as the following passages of I Enoch and the Testament of Levi are quoted with some modifications from R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, vol. II (Oxford, 1913).

The birth of a messianic child

(37) And I saw that a white bull [a symbol of purity and power] was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time.

All regain the righteousness of the patriarchs

(38) And I saw till all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls. The first among them became a lamb, and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.

This apocalyptic vision has obviously been influenced by ritual conceptions. Although it is not necessary to assume that its different moments were part of a ceremony really enacted, the description was doubtlessly inspired by ceremonial traditions. The passage implies an idealization of actions and expectations belonging to enthronement rituals of the same kind as are known from the OT and NT environment.

From the Ancient Near East the following texts may be referred to as examples of similar motifs, though in each case the symbolism is different: the Sumerian Cylinder of Gudea B, xvii.18—xix.21;¹ the Ugaritic Text on Baal IIAB, iv.40—vii.58;² the Egyptian Hymn on the enthronement of Ramses IV preserved in Turin.³ Passages like Josephus' *Antiquities* xiii.10.3 (282 f.), 7 (299), and Acts 12 21–23 also indicate that Jewish princes did not object to having traditional religious ideas of kingship attributed to them. In Josephus it is a matter of John Hyrcanus being regarded as prince, priest, and prophet (the threefold office of Oriental kings, also ascribed to saviours); in Acts of Agrippa I accepting divine veneration from the people. Roman analogies to leading motifs of Enoch's vision, though of course with a different symbolism, are found in Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, in Horace's *Carmen saeculare*, and in the secular feast of Augustus (17 B. C.).

Several details of Enoch's eschatological vision give the impression that there were not pietistic dissenters behind it, but people who supported the official government. The final triumph of the righteous is inaugurated by the military victories of a prince symbolized by a great horn, and who is different from the earlier shepherds of Israel, but according to I Enoch 90 a direct successor of those lambs with horns who are definitely Judas Maccabeus and his brothers. So he belongs to the official Jewish dynasty, the Hasmoneans, even if he should not be identical with any historical member of that family. Furthermore it is worth noticing that the eschatological triumph of the righteous includes building a new Jewish temple (I Enoch 90 28), which does not mean

¹ F. Thureau Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 139.

² C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome, 1949), pp. 32–37.

³ A. Erman, *Die Literatur der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 347 f.

criticism of the old temple itself, but merely of the people who had polluted it. A definite Zionism is also represented by 90 29-30, 33 where the temple is regarded as the center of the world. The sheep who symbolize the pious are in 90 31-32 connected with their patron Enoch whose enthronement is only the logical consequence of the great horn's victories. When further in 90 34 the sword, which signifies the military power given to the pious, is said to be deposited again in the temple, the motif is total peace on earth, but this does not imply any criticism of the militant spirit represented by the Maccabees and the Hasmoneans. The culmination of the drama in the birth of the messianic child (90 37) is a purely eschatological item; yet it does not interrupt the story, but is only a fulfilment of what started with allusions to a historical situation, that is, the wars of the Maccabees and Hasmoneans.

It is also worth noticing that the enthronement passage just quoted is the culmination of the whole apocalyptic part of I Enoch, chaps. 1-90 (whether 37-71 is a later addition or not), for chaps. 91-108 are predominantly didactic rather than apocalyptic. This observation facilitates understanding the purpose of the whole apocalyptic preaching of Enoch. In chaps. 1-90 he communicates knowledge about the angels, their fall and their punishment, as being the prototypes of idolatrous kings and nations. He also informs his adherents about the secret regions of the universe, about meteorology and astronomy, and the judgment of the gentiles and their rulers. Finally Enoch's dream-visions culminate in the inauguration of a divine kingdom after the victories of a Jewish prince who probably represents the Hasmonean dynasty, though his glorious deeds have eschatological importance. His victory over the gentiles leads to the enthronement of Enoch himself who is especially presented as the heavenly "scribe" (I Enoch 12 34, 15 1, 92 1), presumably because the originators of the book were scribes themselves, who wanted to trace their predictions back to this most venerable patriarch, the first of all scribes in the world. In any case Enoch's fantastic, universal wisdom would obviously guarantee the validity of the predictions made about the approaching triumph of the righteous Jews. The passage quoted above may thus be regarded as the logical culmination of the whole apocalyptic section, I Enoch 1-90.

It is therefore evident that the description of the coming triumph in chap. 90 confers upon this part of the book a rather "official" character. The people behind the text do not appear to be pious dissenters, but such as supported the Hasmonean dynasty, and had perhaps even the rather magisterial position of scribes.

Another important apocalyptic passage is found in the Testament of Levi, chap. 8. It describes Levi being endowed with priestly dignity, understanding, and prophetic wisdom, especially Test. Lev. 8 2-3:

(2) . . . Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the turban of [uprightness?], and the ephod of prophecy. (3) And they severally carried (these things) and put (them) on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for ever.

The context of this passage makes it rather probable that it is meant to glorify John Hyrcanus.⁶ Chap. 5 indicates that the patriarch Levi is elected to be Israel's priest, but has first to punish Shechem; chaps. 6 and 7 then reproduce the Genesis story of Shechem's destruction. The peculiar importance given to this cruel deed of Levi becomes understandable if we consider that the Hasmonean high priest John Hyrcanus destroyed Samaria in 109 B. C. People are obviously expected to regard this as a fulfilment of the will of God according to chap. 5. Samaria's destruction raised questions, but it was necessary and proved that Levi was worthy of being Israel's high priest. This is confirmed directly afterwards by chap. 8, where in connection with the affirmations of chap. 5 the description of Levi's solemn investiture as high priest is given. It is most reasonable to understand this as being both a defense and a glorification of John Hyrcanus after he subjugated Samaria. And in particular the passage here quoted shows an attitude towards Levi which is expressly "official." Behind this part of the Testament there were obviously people who supported the high priest as the political authority.

Since the Qumran discoveries have led some scholars to regard the Greek Testaments of the Patriarchs as being Christian, it is necessary to point out that the section of the Greek Testament of Levi just quoted is obviously Jewish. We do not intend to discuss here the whole problem of the Testaments. But to anybody who reads the section quoted above without prejudice it must seem to be expressly Jewish, even if its background may have been Jewish Hellenism rather than Qumran. It does not imply anything which appears Christian. On the contrary it is not even possible to see how a Christian author could betray such interest in Levi and his destruction of Shechem (i. e., Samaria).

With respect to the Jewish background of all the Testaments the Aramaic version of the Testament of Levi is an important document. Fragments of it have fortunately been preserved; they partly belong to older collections in Oxford and Cambridge,⁷ partly to the new discoveries made at Qumran.⁸ In spite of many differences there is nevertheless a close correspondence with the section of the Greek version here quoted.⁹

⁶ Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (London, 1908), pp. I-III; G. Widengren, *Till det sakrala kungadömetts historia i Israel* (Stockholm, 1947), pp. 2-7; H. L. Jansen, "The Consecration in the Eighth Chapter of Testamentum Levi," *La regalità sacra = Numen*, Suppl. IV (Leiden, 1959), 356-65, esp. 365.

⁷ Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, 364-67.

⁸ J. T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen," *RB*, LXII (1955), 398-406.

⁹ P. Grelot, "Notes sur le Testament araméen de Lévi," *RB*, LXIII (1956), 391-406.

On the whole these fragments are concerned with the king's and high priest's sacrifices and purifications, not with any individual pietism. It has been assumed that this Aramaic Testament reflects the background of the whole collection known as the Testaments of the Patriarchs,¹⁰ and was connected with the wars of the second century B. C.¹¹ At any rate it confirms our impression that apocalyptic traditions had a partly official background.

In this context it is also possible to mention the War Scroll of Qumran. Though its original setting and historical meaning are obscure, it may reflect the wars of the Maccabees, as has been suggested by several scholars. If this conjecture is correct, the War Scroll gives further evidence for the supposition that pro-Maccabean and pro-Hasmonean elements were partly behind apocalyptic traditions represented at Qumran.

Thus the use of apocalyptic communications to aid or to guide the authorities is found in several important contexts. It may certainly be traced back to old prophetic customs.

II

On the other hand there are indeed "*pietistic*" elements in the apocalyptic traditions, and important specimens of intertestamental apocalyptic literature have been found in the Qumran caves. Consequently it may have been pietistic dissenters like those of Qumran who especially fostered apocalypticism.¹²

This seems to imply a contradiction, since we have found "official" interests at fundamental points. And the difficulty is made to appear still greater, if the observation is correct that the object of these "official" interests was the Hasmonean dynasty, for it is known from the Habakkuk Commentary and other texts that the Qumran believers opposed the Hasmoneans.

The difficulty may be overcome by assuming that behind those "official" parts of the apocalyptic books there were people who supported the Maccabees and Hasmoneans, and that separatists like the Qumran believers took over their traditions, although they understood them and worked them up in a "pietistic" way, and were even critical of Hasmonean policy.

Such a transition from a comparatively "official" to a more "pietistic" status, and from a rather favorable to a critical attitude toward the

¹⁰ Milik, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

¹¹ Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

¹² F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (New York, 1958), p. 147, regards the Essenes of Qumran as the most important bearers and producers of the Jewish apocalyptic tradition.

Maccabees and Hasmoneans is found in the development of the Qumran movement, to which the apocalyptic books previously mentioned were in some way related.

Most scholars agree in assuming that the Qumran movement was connected with those pious students of the Law who, in the second pre-Christian century, appeared under the name of Hasidim or Assideans, and further with their successors who, toward the end of this century and later, are known as the Pharisees and the Essenes, respectively.¹³ This theory is certainly well founded.

As to the Assideans and the Pharisees, however, it is worth noticing that a fundamental element of these groups were scribes, that is, a category which had traditional connections with politics. From I Macc 7 12-13 it must be concluded that the Assideans were the most important of the scribes who were sent to negotiate with Alcimus,¹⁴ and according to well-known passages of the NT (confirmed by Josephus) it was especially through their scribes that the Pharisees were powerful in the Sanhedrin and elsewhere. As to the Essenes it is remarkable that individual members of this school appear in three different contexts of Josephus' books, and each time because they had correctly predicted the destiny of some dynastic person. These Essenes are: 1) Judas, who foretold the death of Aristobulus' brother Antigonus (Jos. *Bell.* i.3.5 [75-85], cf. *Ant.* xiii.11.2 [311-313]; 2) Menahem, who predicted the kingship of Herod (*Ant.* xv.10.4-5 [371-379]); and 3) Simon, who was invited to the royal palace to explain a curious dream of Archelaus (*Bell.* ii.7.3 [112-113], cf. *Ant.* xvii.13.3 [345-348]). It is evident that such Essenes had the reputation of being successful as prophets on the political stage. Josephus also states that the Essenes studied and cultivated prophecy with great success (*Bell.* ii.8.12 [311]). But what these individual cases particularly show is that Essene prophets were often in the center of events and in the environment of the sovereigns. This proves that their prophetic or apocalyptic activity was not just a private matter, but had traditional connections with officialdom. On the whole it is striking to see that the Assideans, the Pharisees, and the Essenes often had a close relationship with the authorities. If the Qumran movement, as seems probable, was connected with these groups of religious observants, there were several connections with officialdom in its background, although particular Qumran texts present the attitude of dissenters.

This conclusion is confirmed by the information given in the Books of the Maccabees and the historical works of Josephus on the positive relations of the Assideans and the earlier Pharisees to the Maccabees and the

¹³ For instance, Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100, 147 f.

¹⁴ F. Sieffert, "Pharisäer und Sadducäer," *Realencykl.*, XV (Leipzig, 1904), 275.

Hasmoneans, respectively. According to I Macc 2 42-45 the Assideans unanimously supported the Maccabees; II Macc 14 6 even indicates that some people believed they were identical with these political heroes. Their negotiations with Alcimus and Bacchides mentioned in I Macc 7 12-15 (cf. above) were, according to 7 16-17, a mistake of which they bitterly repented, for Bacchides permitted sixty of their leaders to be killed (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xii.10.2 [394-396]). Evidently the result was a reinforced connection with the Maccabees, although this is not mentioned in the sources available. The name Assideans does not appear again in the texts; but there is good reason to believe and it is generally accepted that the Pharisees and the Essenes each partly took over their functions and represented very much the same interests. Josephus inserts a short notice of these religious parties (including the Sadducees) in connection with Jonathani, the brother of Judas Maccabeus (*Ant.* xiii.5.9 [171-173]). The relation of this passage to its context is obscure, and Josephus does not mention anything here about the origin and political attitude of the three parties. In any case there is still no indication of any antagonism between the Pharisees or the Essenes and the Hasmonean dynasty. The next time we meet with one of these parties is in connection with John Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii.10.5-6 [288-298]; cf. *Bell.* i.2.8 [67]). Here the question is of a provisional tension between the prince and the Pharisees, one of whom had indicated that Hyrcanus should concentrate on being the political leader of the people, and give up being its high priest because his mother was said to have been a captive, thus casting doubt on her purity and his right to the office.¹⁵ But the presupposition of the narrative is that until this point the Pharisees had a positive relationship to the Hasmonean prince. Josephus expressly says that Hyrcanus was a disciple of the Pharisees, that he was liked by them, that he invited them to his table, and that he directly asked them to criticize his policy if it seemed necessary; this only one of them cared to do, whereas the rest of them praised him for his virtue. It was just because of Sadducean intrigues that Hyrcanus became angry with the Pharisees in general. And we are told immediately following that he "quieted the opposition and lived happily thereafter" (*Ant.* xii.10.7 [299]). Josephus thus emphasizes that the Pharisaic opposition to Hyrcanus was rather limited, which is not true of that to Janneus. The context in which the historian presents this narrative makes it likely that in reality there was some

¹⁵ This outbreak is connected with Alexander Janneus in Talm. b. *Qidd.* 66a. This prince is known to have been the object of persistent Pharisaic antagonism, but it is evident that the discussion under consideration must have taken place in the days of Hyrcanus, for the details of the story have implications which are not applicable to Janneus. In the Talmud the mother is also said to have been a captive in Modein, a place with which it is only reasonable to connect the wife of the Maccabee Simon, that is, the mother of Hyrcanus.

Pharisaic opposition to Hyrcanus because of his destruction of Samaria in 109 B. C. For it is after the description of this event that Josephus introduces the story in question by saying that the success of Hyrcanus "and his sons" (just mentioned as lieutenant generals in the Samaritan war) provoked Pharisaic opposition (*Bell.* i.2.8 [67]; *Ant.* xii.10.5 [5]). This Pharisaic discussion of the justification for Samaria's destruction also seems to be reflected in the passage of the Testament of Levi referred to above, only that the author of this Testament defends the cruel deed as commanded by God. Until the fall of Samaria, the Pharisees in all likelihood supported the government of the Hasmonean prince John Hyrcanus, and even served as his counselors. As some of them reacted against Hyrcanus after Samaria's destruction, the prince had some trouble with them, but Josephus assures us that this was partial and temporary, and that Hyrcanus silenced the opposition. A more general and permanent break in the relations between Hasmoneans and Pharisees is known only from the days of Janneus in the first quarter of the last pre-Christian century. For these reasons it may be stated that the Assideans and later the Pharisees supported the Maccabees and the Hasmoneans until Samaria's fall, and some of them even after this shocking event.

This explains why such apocalyptic passages of rather "official" stamp as those studied above may be found in the books represented in the "pietistic" Qumran library. Behind the Qumran movement, and partly within it, there were Assidean, Pharisaic and Essene elements. Inasmuch as these elements implied traditional connections with officialdom, and with the Maccabees and Hasmoneans in particular, the Qumran dissenters were led to take over religious texts which originally seem to have been meant to glorify the Hasmonean dynasty or some great member of it like Hyrcanus. Whether the Qumran settlement already existed when these "official" elements of the apocalyptic texts were composed, is not a relevant question. The transition from comparatively official to more separatistic interests need not coincide with the original migration to Qumran. It is only a question of a new attitude. And this change of attitude evidently resulted in the "official" traditions being understood in a more "pietistic" way, and being supplemented by traditions more concerned with the individual and his salvation, and even by traditions which were critical of Hasmonean policy.

This is also the case if the apocalyptic traditions of the intertestamental period are studied as a whole, especially with reference to Qumran. Just as Dan 1-6 with its comparatively "official" orientation has been supplemented by Dan 7-12 which represents "pietistic" interests, so other important specimens of Jewish apocalypticism, partly represented at Qumran, imply "official" traditions accompanied by "pietistic" teaching. These "pietistic" sections even include obvious criticism of

such policy as was represented by the Hasmoneans, and their moral teaching is thus rather incompatible with the glorification of Jewish rulers and high priests found in the "official" sections.

The most striking discrepancy of this kind appears in First Enoch. Here a clear difference is found between the visions of chaps. 1-90 and the moral exhortations of chaps. 91-108. The subject of these exhortations, which are accompanied by short apocalyptic passages, is no longer the collective triumph of the Jews and the annihilation of the enemies, but individual righteousness and wisdom in the sense of patience and submission. As an illustration we may quote I Enoch 92 3:

And the righteous one shall arise from sleep and walk in the paths of righteousness. And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

The ideal here represented is more expressly individualistic than in the earlier parts of Enoch. One has the feeling that sectarian pietists were behind this section of the book. Interestingly enough there is also an influence from wisdom traditions since the exhortations are introduced as wisdom in 92 1 and since the righteous are expressly called wise in 100 6, etc. This ideal of wisdom, however, is taken in the sense of patience and submission which confirms the "pietistic" character of the chapters in question.

It is further important to observe that the evildoers in I Enoch 91-108 are not foreign rulers or people who seek connection with the gentiles, as they appear in chaps. 1-90 (especially with reference to the symbols of fallen angels and the flood as well as to the particular animal symbols of chap. 90). In chaps. 91-108 the evildoers are individuals who achieve private success and wealth by unrighteousness and violence. No express distinction is made between Jews and gentiles; the author is simply concerned with people in his own environment. He does not like them to have such power and to suppress his pious fellow men.

This makes it reasonable to think of the later Hasmoneans who, in some of the Qumran texts, appear to be criticized in similar terms for their egoism and materialism. An instance which seems to point in this direction is I Enoch 98 2-3:

(2) For if you men put on more adornments than a woman and colored garments more than a virgin: in spite of royalty, grandeur and power, silver, gold and purple, splendor and food, they shall be poured out as water.

(3) As they are wanting in doctrine and wisdom, they shall perish together with their possessions and with all their glory and splendor. And in shame, in slaughter, and in great destitution, their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.

Such words are incompatible with the glorification of the Hasmoneans which may be found in I Enoch 90. Rather they are reminiscent of

the criticism of the Hasmonean high priests which seems to be represented by the Qumran Commentaries on Habakkuk and Nahum. The sinners are also said to amass wealth and build houses of sin (I Enoch 94 8-11, 99 13, etc.), just like the wicked high priests in 1QpHab x.10 f. With regard to these and similar passages the unrighteous condemned in I Enoch 91-108 may very well have to do with the late Hasmoneans, especially with Janneus of whom the Pharisees are known to have been great antagonists. But as the warnings of I Enoch are predominantly of a rather general character and do not have any particular reference to a false dynasty of high priests, there is reason to include all people of the time who notoriously strived for worldly power and success. Probably one has to think of the party that supported the Hasmoneans after the Pharisees had begun to reject them, namely, the Sadducees.

Such exhortations certainly have a traditional background, and must not be referred exclusively to a specific historical situation.¹⁶ But possible connections with older prophetic traditions do not explain why the section I Enoch 91-108 takes an attitude so different from that represented by the earlier parts of the book. The curious fact that here the evildoers are no longer maltreaters and traitors of the Jews, but rich and successful people in the author's environment, may be satisfactorily explained if, in the latter case, the criticism is supposed to be directed, not at the Hellenistic kings and their Jewish agents, but at the later Hasmoneans and their party, the Sadducees. As I Enoch was part of the Qumran library, and as it is known from Josephus and some Qumran texts that the Pharisees and the Qumran believers, respectively, became critical of the later Hasmoneans, the historical explanation here suggested as to the difference of attitude between I Enoch 1-90 and 91-108 is founded on well-established facts.

It must be noticed that the religious program represented by I Enoch 91-108 also has analogies with other apocalyptic-parenetic traditions of the period. With regard to the political opposition there is an important analogy especially in the Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk which criticizes the Hasmoneans and probably Janneus in particular. With regard to the ideal of obedience, patience, submission, and wisdom characteristic of I Enoch 91-108, analogies may be found in the Qumran Manual of Discipline iii.13 - iv.26. Beside I Enoch this passage, in spite of its brevity, can be called the most interesting specimen of the apocalyptic traditions of the time. Without discussing the problems connected with the dualistic pneumatology of the passage we may draw attention to the fact that here a spirit of peacefulness and obedience to God's will is required of the members of the congregation. This is an

¹⁶ Jansen, *op. cit.*, p. 363, thinks a cult pattern explains the difference which, in a corresponding way, is to be observed between Test. Lev. 8 and 10 ff.

attitude which corresponds to that recommended by I Enoch 91-108. As an example 1QS iv.3-5 may be quoted:

- (3) A spirit of humility, tolerance, great compassion, permanent goodness (as in I Enoch 92 3),¹⁷ insight, understanding, heroic wisdom, which believes in all (4) God's works and relies on his rich grace. And a spirit of deliberation in every active project, zeal for the commandments of righteousness, a holy intention (5) based on steadfast inclination, great devotion to all the true-hearted . . .

This has nothing to do with the old popular ideal of Israel's triumph over the nations, later taken over by the zealots, but represents a kind of pietism in which obedience to the Law, submission, patient suffering, and love of one's neighbor are considered as true wisdom. It is a question of zeal for the Law, but this finds expression in pious reading of holy scriptures, and not in acts of terror as was the case with the zealots. The importance of biblical studies for Jewish apocalypticism is also confirmed by passages like Dan 9 2, 10, 12 4, 10; 1QpHab ii.8-10, vii.4 f.; Jos. *Bell.* ii.8.12 (159).

Because of the way Philo and Josephus describe the Essenes, it seems likely that such pietistic ideals were characteristic of the latter. It is also this peaceful, anti-zealotic pietism called wisdom that was developed in the bulk of the Greek Testaments of the Patriarchs. Another example of the importance of this pietistic, anti-zealotic attitude is found in the Wisdom of Solomon, though it belongs to wisdom rather than to apocalyptic traditions. It may be added that a similar pietism is also found in the NT.

Thus the transition from relatively "official" to "pietistic" interests found in apocalyptic contexts had great historical consequences. Behind the pietism in question there may very well have been older traditions, and some new religious currents may also have influenced the development. The evidence here studied, however, indicates that the specific pietistic attitude, which is found in the last section of I Enoch and in other texts more or less connected with the Qumran movement, was developed in opposition to leading elements of contemporary Jewish society.

¹⁷ P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (Leiden, 1957), p. 74.

THE NAME OF THE GOD OF MOSES

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AN IMPORTANT biblical tradition associates the revelation of the personal name of God, the Tetragrammaton, with Moses. This is explicitly affirmed in Exod 6 2-3 (commonly attributed to the Priestly stratum of the Pentateuch): "And God said to Moses . . . 'I am Yahweh. And I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob as El Shaddai; but (by) my name Yahweh I was not known to them.' " Exod 3 13-15 (usually regarded as E) supports this view with an account of the revelation of the name of God, which had not previously been known. Even in the J stratum, the name which otherwise is traced back to the earliest times, is given special emphasis in the divine communications to Moses (cf. Exod 34 5-6 and 14). At the very least, in the biblical record, a new and extraordinary significance is attached to the name of God in the Mosaic era.¹

In the light of the tradition, we may pose three questions, and then attempt to answer them: 1) What was the name of the God of Moses? 2) What is the meaning of the name? 3) What is its significance in the context of the Book of Exodus?

The simplest form of the name is provided by the Priestly writer(s) in Exod 6 2-3: the Tetragrammaton alone, YHWH. Admittedly there is no scholarly consensus about the form or meaning of this word. And the question of its ultimate origin has not been resolved to the satisfaction of all. The position advanced in this paper is based upon the following points, which appear to the writer to be most in accord with the

¹ The general validity of this tradition of the name of God is further attested by the close association of the revelation of the name with the Sinai-Horeb events. YHWH is peculiarly the name of the God of the Sinai covenant; the inescapable association of the latter with Moses supports the view that the revelation of the name forms part of the covenant-making process. The preamble to the Decalogue (Exod 20 2) opens with the same words: "I am Yahweh . . ." as does the P account of the revelation of the name (Exod 6 2, with the alternative 1st person pronoun). The third commandment deals explicitly with the profanation of the (newly revealed) name. And in Exod 34, the proclamation of the name precedes directly the (re)making of the covenant. The inter-relationship of name and covenant is best preserved in the J stratum of Exod 34, which in other respects as well retains a more archaic tradition: e. g., the form of the first commandment in 34 14, *כי לא תשתחוה לאל אחר*, is clearly more original than the prosaic *לֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים* (Exod 20 3 and 5).

available data: 1) that the Tetragrammaton was pronounced *yahweh*; 2) that it is a verb derived from the root **hwy* > **hwh*, which in accordance with recognized linguistic laws appears in biblical Hebrew as *hyh*;² 3) that it is a Hifil impf. 3rd masc. sing. form of the verb; and 4) that it is to be translated, "He causes to be, he brings into existence; he brings to pass, he creates."³

Elsewhere in the Book of Exodus the name of God is given in a variety of expanded forms (cf. 3 13-15, 34 6-7, 14), while in I and II Samuel a different expansion is presented as the name inscribed upon the Ark of the Covenant. In attempting to determine which is the more original form, the simple Tetragrammaton, or one or more of the expanded formulas, two observations are in order: 1) the term "name" itself is not a decisive criterion, since it is applied equally to names as we understand them, and to titles or descriptive formulas. 2) If, as we contend, *yahweh* is a verb form, then it must have formed part of a longer expression. The evidence of the onomastica of the Near East in the 2nd millennium B. C. points unmistakably in this direction.⁴ The conclusion, already suggested by W. F. Albright, is that these names are derived from a formulary or litany describing the covenant God in a series of affirmations beginning with the word *yahweh*.⁵ As both the first and common element in the series, *yahweh* was the logical and inevitable abbreviation, and thus emerged as the "name" of God.

We may now turn to the Mosaic formulas in the Book of Exodus. The *locus classicus* is Exod 3 14: *'əhyāh 'əšər 'əhyāh*. The interpretation remains problematical in spite of the concentrated efforts of scholars. The form *'əhyāh* is to be understood as the first person equivalent of the Tetragrammaton (as the writer clearly intends, cf. *'əhyāh š'lāhāni* in vs. 14). While it is now vocalized as a Qal form in MT (based upon a tradition that lies behind the LXX, and may be even older), this must

² This is in accord with the view of the biblical writer in Exod 3 13-15, who directly associates the Tetragrammaton with the root *hyh*, though in MT the form is vocalized as a Qal instead of a Hifil.

³ The chief contemporary exponent of this view, which has a long scholarly prehistory, is W. F. Albright, following the lead of P. Haupt: cf. "Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philology," *JBL*, XLIII (1924), No. 2, "The Name Yahweh," 370-78, with a variety of additional material since then, most recently in the Introduction to the Anchor Edition of *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (New York, 1957), pp. 15-16. There is no need to repeat the case presented by Albright, which is entirely convincing to the writer for the analysis of the form *yahweh*; see e. g., his explanation of the expression יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת in *JBL*, LXVII (1948), 377-81.

⁴ Cf. Albright's discussion of hypocoristica in *JBL*, XLIII, 371-72; there can be no doubt that *yahweh* belongs to this class of name. For other examples see *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, pp. 260-61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 260.

be regarded as a secondary development.⁶ The original form was Hifil, and the meaning is, "I bring into being." In dealing with the whole expression, P. Haupt emended the second *'ahyāh* and read: *'ahyeh 'ašar yihyāh*, "I cause to be what comes into existence."⁷ Though this is an eminently satisfactory solution to the problem of Exod 3 14, it is possible to improve upon it by avoiding even the relatively slight textual emendation, and also by relating the "name" more significantly to the context of the Book of Exodus. While the Creator God figures prominently in biblical as well as Near Eastern religion from patriarchal times on, and is, of course, not out of place in the Mosaic age, nevertheless the principal emphases in the Book of Exodus are upon the merciful intervention and the saving action of the God of the Fathers in behalf of his oppressed people.

Unemended, the formula in Exod 3 14 falls into the category of *idem per idem* constructions, which are common to both Hebrew and Arabic. S. R. Driver (basing himself on the prior work of Lagarde) discusses this construction in his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*,⁸ and his commentary on *The Book of Exodus* in the Cambridge Bible.⁹ He connects, rightly in our judgment, Exod 3 14 with 33 19, where the *idem per idem* construction also occurs, and affirms that this idiomatic repetition is "employed where the means or desire to be more explicit does not exist."¹⁰ The second verb serves as a predicate, and thus, like a cognate accusative, emphasizes the verbal action: e. g., Exod 16 23, *אִתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר-תֹּאמַר*, "What you bake, bake"; and *אִתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר-תִּבְשֹׁל בְּשֹׁלוֹ* "What you boil, boil."¹¹

Exod 33 19 is related to Exod 3 14 not only in grammatical construction, but also with regard to the revelation of the name of God: "And He said, 'I will make all my goodness pass before you, and I will pronounce the name, YHWH, before you . . .'"¹² What follows is a first-person

⁶ Since the original meaning of *yahweh* had long since been forgotten this interpretation as a Qal form was the only one possible within the structure of the language as it was constituted in post-Exilic times.

⁷ P. Haupt, "Der Name Jahwe," *OLZ*, 1909, cols. 211-14, quoted and discussed by Albright, *JBL*, XLIII, 375-76. Albright adduces Egyptian parallels to this formula, pp. 377-78.

⁸ (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1913), pp. 185-86.

⁹ (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 362-63, etc.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹¹ Other passages with the same construction are Exod 4 13, I Sam 23 13, II Sam 15 20, II Kings 8 1, and Ezek 12 25. Each needs to be examined separately, but in every case the emphasis is on the verbal idea; the element of arbitrary choice, or wilfulness, which crops up in the English translations, is not inherent in the Hebrew expression. See below.

¹² The material in Exod 33 12-23 is usually attributed to J, but the analysis is by no means certain. Scholars resort to desperate measures to secure continuity. It is much more likely that a mixture of J and E strands is involved here. For the purpose of this paper it is not directly significant, except that the 1st-person expressions which follow in vs. 19 logically connect with 3 14, and may therefore come from the E source.

utterance by God to Moses, in the *idem per idem* construction, precisely parallel to Exod 3 14: *והנני את אשר אהיה ורחמי את אשר ארחם*, "And I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious; and I will show mercy on whom I will show mercy." The stress in this passage is upon the verbal action: showing grace and mercy. There appears to be no suggestion of wilfulness or arbitrary free choice in the Hebrew, in spite of the theological deductions commonly drawn by commentators. To quote Driver once more: "All that is said here is that God is gracious to those to whom he is gracious." And further on, "The second 'will' in each sentence is a simple future: it must not be emphasized as though it meant 'wish to' . . ."¹³ We are now in a position to render the enigmatic expression in Exod 3 14: "I create what I create," or more simply, "I am the creator." Similarly in 33 19: "I am the gracious one, I am the compassionate one."

A related name formula is found in Exod 34 6-7 (J), which is a continuation of the Exod 33 passage just discussed. It begins with a repetition of the Tetragrammaton (YHWH YHWH), itself remarkable, and so far as I can determine, unique in the OT. It is strikingly parallel to the 1st person repetition in Exod 3 14 (with the exception of *אשר*, which belongs rather to the prose adaptation of the original poetic formula). There follows in 34 6 the expression *אל רחום וחנון*, "God compassionate and gracious," which in turn is parallel to the material in Exod 33 19, where the same verbal roots are used. On the basis of these three "name" passages we are now in a position to reconstruct the parallel 1st and 3rd person forms of the name of the God of Moses. The name itself, properly speaking, is to be found in the 3rd person formula in 34 6: "The compassionate and gracious God creates what he creates." The parallel 1st person formula adapted for divine utterance comes from 3 14 and 33 19: "I create what I create, and I am gracious to whom I am gracious, and I show mercy to whom I show mercy." In both forms the creative action of the gracious and merciful God is stressed.

The formula in 34 6-7 continues at some length, with a series of adjectival modifiers describing in greater detail the nature of the Mosaic God. It is difficult to say how much of this material belonged originally to the "name," though it doubtless derives from various litanic formulations of the earliest period.¹⁴

Still another name formula is found in Exod 34 14: *אל קנא* "the zealous or passionate God." It occurs also in the Decalogue in the comment on

¹³ Driver, *The Book of Exodus*, p. 363. That God is free to bestow or withhold favor follows from the biblical view of his authority as creator and judge. Mercy and grace are consistently emphasized as paramount qualities of his nature, however, and in this passage, it is specifically asserted that the name formula reveals God's "goodness (*ḡūb*)."

¹⁴ Cf. D. N. Freedman, "God Compassionate and Gracious," *Western Watch*, VI (1955), 6-24. Some of these formulas go back to patriarchal times, but much is distinctively Mosaic, as the biblical tradition itself makes clear.

the second commandment, where it is associated with the visitation of punishment upon the third and fourth generations, an element in turn in the name formula of Exod 34 7.¹⁵ The expression in 34 14 is difficult to render. MT reads: *כי יהוה קנא שמו אל קנא הוא*, which is commonly translated, "For Yahweh, whose name is Jealous, is the Jealous God." This is awkward, however, and in view of the previous discussion, the "name" here must be *yahweh qannā*, "the Zealous One Creates." LXX offers a variant reading, with the addition of *'ēl* (ὁ θεός) after the Tetragrammaton; this plus is not unexpected since *qannā* (or *qannō*) occurs elsewhere in the OT only in combination with *'ēl*.¹⁶ It is not necessary to emend MT, however. The omission of *'ēl* before the qualifying noun is attested in a series of similar name formulas: e. g., El Shaddai and Shaddai, El Elyon and Elyon, and probably El Olam and Olam (Deut 33 27).¹⁷ Another possibility is to read *qin'ā* for the first *qannā* in MT; we may render the expression: "For 'He Creates Zeal' is his name." The formula would be parallel in structure to several others in the early sources, in particular *yahweh yir'ā* (Gen 22 14), "He creates reverence," as reconstructed by Albright.¹⁸

We can sketch our conclusions regarding the name formulas in the Book of Exodus: 1) The initial and common element is the word *yahweh*, which describes the activity of the Creator God, a concept common to the high religions of the ancient Near East, basic to all the strata of the Bible, and certainly reaching back to the Patriarchs. The term itself, as the J source affirms, is doubtless pre-Mosaic. 2) What emerge as distinctively Mosaic in the name formulas are the qualities and attributes of the Creator God of the Fathers revealed in the unique historical setting of the Sinai covenant, between the past event of the Exodus, and the future prospect of the Conquest. These are grace and mercy, patience, great kindness and devotion, all of which mark the action by which he delivers his afflicted people, creates a new community, — and not least the passionate zeal by which he binds Israel to himself in an exclusive relationship of privilege and obligation, of promise and threat, of judgment and mercy.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 14 ff. The essential meaning of *qn* is "ardor, passion," which finds expression either in judgment or kindness (cf. Exod 20 5-6); it is parallel to "love" in Cant 8 6, and perhaps is best translated, "zeal, zealous." Because of its modern connotations, "jealousy" is a misleading translation, especially when the term is used of God.

¹⁶ The form *'ēlōhīm*, as suggested by BHP, is thus mistaken. The interpretation of the passage would be the same: "For 'El Qanna (the Zealous God) Creates' is his name."

¹⁷ The term *qannā* and what it signifies regarding the exclusive relationship between Yahweh and Israel seem to the writer uniquely and distinctively Mosaic. The persistence of the poetic form *'ēl* in connection with it even in later prose contexts (e. g., Deut 4 24, 6 15) is sufficient evidence of its antiquity.

¹⁸ *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 16.

We append two notes, which follow upon the main argument:

1. An important early name formula is יהוה צבאות which in various forms was inscribed upon the Ark of the Covenant.¹⁹ The original verbal force of *yahweh* is strikingly evident here: "The One Enthroned upon the Cherubim creates the hosts (of Israel)." According to the biblical tradition, however, this formula comes from the period of the Judges, and is not to be found in the Mosaic material. Since the Ark served as the sacred emblem of the cult center, its "name" doubtless served as the amphictyonic motto, and in this period was the name of God par excellence. In spite of the fact that the Ark itself is traced back to the wilderness wanderings, and even the cherubim are read back into Mosaic times by the Priestly writer(s), the formula itself is lacking in the Pentateuch. Priority would appear to belong to the Exodus formulas.

2. From Exod 34:6 and 14, it is clear that the proper subject of the verb *yahweh* is 'ēl. Thus the name is structurally identical with the numerous 'ēl names of the 2nd millennium, which often appear as hypocoristica like *yahweh* itself.²⁰ The continued use of the designation El throughout the Bible (though limited largely to poetry), despite its obvious Canaanite associations, shows that the name was deeply rooted in Israelite tradition. The patriarchal names for their deity are built around this element: e. g., El Shaddai, El Elyon (specifically the Creator God, Gen 14:19), El Olam; comparable in form therefore are the El Qanna and the El Raḥum w'Ḥannun of the Mosaic age. The anomalous combination *yahweh* 'ēlōhīm, usually regarded as the result of a mixture of sources, or an artificial construction, may simply be the survival in occasional passages of the prose equivalent of the poetic or formulaic *yahweh* 'ēl, etc., under discussion, with the same original meaning, "God creates." It survives merely as a title in the passages in which it occurs.

¹⁹ Albright, *JBL*, LXVII, 377-81.

²⁰ Cf. Exod 34:6 and 14; once it is recognized that the use of the term *yahweh* goes back to patriarchal times, the 'ēl element becomes virtually certain. For a comprehensive study of the relationship of *yahweh* to the God of the Fathers, see the paper by F. M. Cross, Jr., which was read at the Oxford Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the OT (1959), and will appear in the forthcoming Congress Volume.

"PEOPLE" AND "NATION" OF ISRAEL

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WORDS can serve not only to reveal facts but also to conceal them. Such catchwords as "people" and "nation" are often used with greater freedom, not to say abandon, than the situation warrants. This is frequently the case when these terms are applied to ancient Israel, particularly when they are made the basis for sweeping political, sociological, and theological conclusions. Actually, there is need for a good deal of tidying up at both ends, the modern and the biblical.

In current usage, the terms "people" and "nation" are not sharply differentiated. Only in technical discussions does one find a serviceable, if not quite precise, distinction of meaning. *People* tends to emphasize common cultural and social characteristics, while *nation* is mainly a political designation associated as a rule with state and government. In neither instance is there any explicit stress on racial origins.¹

The Bible, for its part, uses a similar pair of terms, *'ām* and *gōy*. These nouns are always translated mechanically as "people" and "nation" respectively. This gives us rough approximations, but does not really tell us very much. For translation involves here not just words but the very fabric of a highly significant society. Hence the modern interpreter need be clear about what is meant today by "people" and "nation," what the Bible means by *'ām* and *gōy*, and how these two sets of terms relate to each other. The key question, however, is the overall problem of *'ām* and *gōy*, a problem that is as yet far from settled.²

This paper seeks to focus on the Bible's view of Israel as reflected by the use of *'ām* and *gōy*. The discussion is divided into three parts: (1) The uses of *'ām* and *gōy* in the Bible; (2) extrabiblical data; and (3) ancient Israel in the light of the combined evidence. The whole theme can be treated here only in brief outline. This should be enough, however, to indicate the principal results.

¹ For a convenient analysis of current usage see Webster's *Dictionary of Synonyms* (1942), under "race," p. 672.

² A useful philological discussion on the subject is furnished by Leonhard Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im Alten Testament," *Festschrift Otto Procksch*, pp. 125-44. To the limited extent to which our independent lines of inquiry coincide (a portion of Section I, below), they are in substantial agreement and mutually complementary.

I. THE USES OF 'ĀM AND GŌY IN THE BIBLE

The latest lexicon of the Bible, that of Koehler and Baumgartner, still carries the statement that *gōy* is not clearly differentiated ("nicht deutlich verschieden") from 'ām insofar as biblical usage is concerned.³ Yet this judgment is sharply at variance with the vast bulk of the evidence in the case. Our lexicographers and all others who share this view could not have probed very deep. A check of the pertinent occurrences — there are more than 1800 instances of 'ām and over 550 of *gōy* — should demonstrate conclusively that the weight of the evidence points in the opposite direction.

There is, to be sure, a small number of passages in which 'ām and *gōy* are interchangeable. But the cases in question are relatively late and due in the main to stylistic variation or poetic parallelism; e. g., עַם כְּבֹד עוֹן (Isa 1 4); נְוִי חֲטָא: עַם כְּבֹד עוֹן (Ezek 36 15). Contrast, however, the older use of שְׁנֵי גוֹיִם: שְׁנֵי לְאֻמִּים (Gen 25 23), where the literary term *l'om* rather than the familiar 'ām, is employed as the poetic counterpart of *gōy*.

At any rate, against the slender minority of passages that do correlate 'ām with *gōy*, the overwhelming majority indicate a clear and manifold distinction between the two nouns. The evidence may be summarized as follows:

a. Unlike 'ām, *gōy* is never possessively construed with YHWH; there is no such construction as *gōy*-YHWH. Even with alien deities the pertinent term is 'ām; cf. עַם-כְּמוֹשׁ (Num 21 29). This particular point has been frequently noticed but has not been followed through.⁵

b. Similarly, when Israel is spoken of as God's people, the forms employed are 'ammī, 'amm'kā, or 'ammō, but never *gōy* with possessive suffix. In fact, 'ām is found hundreds of times with pronominal endings, as against only seven with *gōy*, each in connection with land.⁶ Evidently, therefore, 'ām is something subjective and personal, *gōy* objective and impersonal. Note וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי עַמְּךָ הוּא (Exod 33 13). The same utterance with the two nouns interchanged would be unthinkable in a biblical context, though not in translation. One begins to see now that the

³ See p. 174. Contrast Rost, *loc. cit.*, p. 142.

⁴ Neither this rare term nor the still rarer 'ummā(h) has a bearing on the present discussion.

⁵ Strictly speaking, therefore, all references to Yahweh as a "national" God at any given time are terminologically inaccurate. Yahweh is not specifically traced to a single locality as, say, Enlil is traced to Nippur, or Marduk to Babylon, or Ashur to his homonymous city. Theophanies on sacred mountains are not to be equated with political ties.

⁶ Gen 10 5, 20, 31, 32; Ezek 33 13, 14, 15. For the affinity of *gōy* to land and the like see below under (e).

renderings "people" and "nation" are not one-to-one correlatives of 'ām and gōy.

c. To go a step further, 'ām appears often as an element in personal names, but gōy never; cf. Ammishaddai, Amminadab, Ammiel, and the like. The function this time is that of a kinship term, on a par with Abi-, Ahi-, and others.

d. The kinship connotation of 'ām is still alive in such idioms as ויאסף אל עמיו "he was gathered to his kin" (Gen 25 8, 17, etc.), and נכרת מעמיו (e. g., Exod 30 33, 38), and the like, "he was sundered from his kin." In such instances the noun is normally in the plural, but not always. Cf., e. g., וחינו לעם אחד (Gen 34 16) "we shall thus become one family"; note also Ruth 1 16. It follows that 'ām was essentially a term denoting close family connections, and hence secondarily the extended family, that is, people in the sense of a larger, but fundamentally consanguineous, body.

e. In contrast, there is not the least hint of personal ties under the concept of gōy. The noun labels large conglomerates held together, so to speak, from without rather than from within. It is surely no accident that the so-called Table of Nations (Gen 10) speaks of gōyim exclusively, all such entries being classified according to geographic (בארצות) and linguistic (ללשונות) principles. The subgroups there are designated as mišpāḥōt, thus showing that mišpāḥā(h) was basically an administrative rubric.

f. A word, like a person, is sometimes typified by the company it keeps. It is significant, therefore, that the usual coördinate of gōy is mamlākā(h) "kingdom." Cf. מלכה: נוי (e. g., I Kings 18 10; Jer 18 7, 9; II Chron 32 13), or מלכה: נוי (I Kings 18 10); note especially מלכה נוי קדוש כהנים (Exod 19 6), and cf. also the four kingdoms out of one gōy (Dan 8 22). Correspondingly, the Israelites demand a king so that they may become like all the gōyim (I Sam 8 20).

g. Furthermore, it is highly instructive to identify the indivisible units of the gōy and the 'ām respectively. In the former case it is 'ādām, the earthling, mortal, one of a crowd, or in short, a statistic; cf. ועל נוי (Job 34 29), and note Ezek 36 13). Small wonder that 'ādām is itself originally a collective noun, a mass term, which is why it cannot form a plural. On the other hand, the ultimate component of the 'ām is 'ī, that is, the individual; cf. e. g., II Sam 15 30; 16 18. Analogously, one says אחד העם (Gen 26 10). All of which casts added doubt on the authenticity of the phrase הגוי גם צדיק חדרו (Gen 20 4); it can be nothing else than an unfortunate textual corruption.

h. It thus becomes clear that where the Bible juxtaposes 'ām and gōy, it does so deliberately and for purposes of subtle distinction. Aside from וראה כי עמך הגוי הזה (Exod 33 13), which has already been cited, note רק עמכם ובגוי הגדול הזה (Deut 4 6). The phrase amounts to the

same thing as: After all, this large mass of humanity is made up of wise and discerning individuals!

i. In the light of the above facts, the typical verbs that may accompany the two nouns under discussion should prove to be of more than casual interest. A *gōy* can be made (״ע), established (״נ), founded (״ס), or the like. Egypt "came into being" as a *gōy* (Exod 9 24). Such states are not "born" all at once (Isa 66 8). They can, however, go out of existence (Jer 31 35). As opposed to all this, an *'ām* just is; it is a physical fact. As for its behavior, an *'ām* can eat and drink, be faint and suffer thirst, quarrel and complain and weep, tremble or flee or hide in caves, come into the world and eventually be buried. It is a group of persons. The *gōy*, on the other hand, even when not tied to the land or linked to a state, is a regimented body, e. g., when it crosses a stream⁷ or makes war. The one, in sum, is discrete, the other collective.

To recapitulate, the modern concept of "people" is at best only a rough approximation to the biblical concept of *'ām*. The main difference lies in the suggestion of blood ties and the emphasis on the individual, both of which features are peculiar to the Hebrew term. On the other hand, *gōy* comes rather close to the modern definition of "nation." In any case, the gap between Hebrew *'ām* and *gōy* is greater than that between our "people" and "nation."

II. EXTRABIBLICAL DATA

Once the various uses of *'ām* and *gōy* have been established within Hebrew, it is safe to venture outside and consult the evidence of cognate languages. What we find there is routine in some respects, but quite unexpected, and highly significant, in others.

'ām is a common West-Semitic term. It still carries in Arabic its original connotation of "paternal uncle." By extension, the noun came to designate the nuclear family as a whole (cf. Heb. *'ammīm*), and thence the family deity in personal names, notably in Amorite (cf. Hammurapi), Aramaic, and early Hebrew. The ethnic sense of the term is clearly secondary and based on kinship. In such occurrences the word stands primarily for a consanguineous group, or the extended family in the widest sense of the term. Its individual correlate is *'āš* which, significantly enough, has approximately the same dialectal distribution as *'ām*.

In marked contrast, Hebrew *gōy* has practically no cognates. Its only established relative is found in the Mari dialect of Akkadian, where it turns up as one of a number of borrowings from West-Semitic. The

⁷ Josh 4 1.

meaning of Mari *gāw/yum* is "group, work gang,"⁸ in striking agreement with the posited original connotation of Hebrew *gōy*.

What is especially noteworthy, however, is the hitherto unappreciated fact that Akkadian shows no trace of the West-Semitic pair 'ām and 'īš. The concept "men" collectively is expressed there by *nīšū* or *nīšūtu*, cognates of Hebrew 'nāšīm and 'nōš, but not of 'īš. The group term is *šābum*, which is etymologically the same as Hebrew *šābā'*, but semantically approximates Hebrew 'ādām. For "nation" Akkadian resorts to *mātum*, a word with the primary meaning of "country," and a secondary ethnogeographic value that appears also in Hebrew *gōy*. The Akkadian singular for "man" is *awēlum*, ultimately an adjective describing the upper class of the population, the citizenry alongside *muškēnum* "tenant" and *wardum* "slave."

In other words, in Mesopotamian society man was fitted into a pattern that differed sharply from the biblical, and with it from other West-Semitic groups. The main emphasis in Mesopotamia rested on the political unit and its administrative subdivisions. The overriding factor had come to be the state, regardless of ethnic composition, indeed a structure composed of diverse ethnic elements. The family played a part, inevitably, but its autonomy was severely restricted by political and economic considerations. Though blood was thicker than water, bread and taxes rated still higher. That is why adoption, which tends to loosen blood ties, became such a prominent factor in Mesopotamian society; contrariwise, the institution of the levirate, which stands guard over blood relationship, never took hold in Mesopotamia proper. And the ultimate component of the Mesopotamian community was the citizen rather than the individual as such, *awēlum*, as opposed to 'īš. In short, the Akkadian terminology on the subject, in sharp contrast with the Hebrew, reflects a highly sophisticated urban society, one that set little store by consanguineous groupings.

By the same token, the Hebrew pair 'ām and 'īš should presuppose a nonurban background, in common with other West-Semitic elements. Now in nomadic society the isolated individual has little chance of survival. Such an environment imposes unremitting group effort and a constant struggle against rival groups. In these circumstances, careful attention to blood ties promises maximum security. The family is paramount; but it will prosper or fail depending on the initiative and enterprise of its individual members.

These theoretical premises are supported by several concrete facts. There is not a single attested case of adoption in the whole of the Hebrew Bible, in marked contrast to Mesopotamia. On the other hand, the levirate, much though its hold may have been loosened through progres-

⁸ Cf. *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, Vol. 5 (G), s. v.

sive urbanization, is never completely eliminated. Nor is the nomadic background, though obviously a thing of the past, altogether forgotten. It is recalled nostalgically by the prophets time and again. The period of wanderings in the desert was a golden age, an ideal that may yet be realized again in the future (Hos 2 16 f.; 12 10).⁹ Urban life, on the other hand, contributes to corruption (Amos 6 8). Significantly enough, such remembrance of the past is often expressed in terms of family relations. Israel was then the bride, and God her bridegroom (Hos 13 15; Jer 2 2); or Israel was the son, and God the father (Hos 11 1). With so venerable a background, it is not at all strange that the accent on the family should have carried over into the postbiblical stage, and have remained prominent in Jewish life down to the present.

In sum, 'šš as individual in an originally nomadic-pastoral family, and *awēlum* as citizen in an urban community,¹⁰ epitomize two divergent modes of existence. The two terms are not interchangeable, nor are they found together in the same language. Each helps to circumscribe the group to which it appertains, the 'ām in the one instance, and the *mātum* in the other. The dichotomy is complete and deep-rooted. As such it provides a major criterion for the sociological analysis of the ancient Near East.

III. ANCIENT ISRAEL IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE EVIDENCE

We are now ready to apply the terms 'ām and *gōy*, as elucidated in the foregoing discussion, to the case of ancient Israel. The question, then, is not whether Israel was a people or a nation, since these concepts are neither indigenous nor sufficiently defined; rather, the question is whether Israel was an 'ām or a *gōy*. The answer is plainly that Israel was both. And the direct evidence on which this answer is based yields further significant disclosures.

According to the biblical record, the history of ancient Israel begins with Abraham's migration from Mesopotamia. A mass of circumstantial evidence, both internal and external, tends to validate the substance of the passage in Gen 12 beyond the fondest expectations of the most confirmed traditionalists. Right now, however, we are concerned with the wording of the call that led to the migration. It contains the promise

⁹ For the so-called nomadic "ideal" of Israel see most recently R. de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, I, pp. 30 ff. Whether such an ideal was ever actually recognized, or whether it was as strong as is often alleged, is not altogether certain, in view of some noteworthy arguments that have recently been raised against that view. The issue, however, is of no particular relevance to the present discussion.

¹⁰ See W. von Soden, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 90.

וְעָשֵׂה לְךָ לְאֻמָּה גְּדוֹלָה (Gen 12 2) "I will make you into a great nation." The term in question is *gōy*, not *'ām*; and rightly so. For Abraham was an *'ām* to begin with, in the primary sense of the word, so long as he had a nephew named Lot.

There is nothing casual or accidental about this phraseology. It is consistent, invariable, and exclusive. It is applied again to Abraham in Gen 18 18, to Jacob in Gen 46 3 and Deut 26 5, and to Moses in Exod 32 10, Num 14 12, and Deut 9 13.¹¹ The reason, then, behind the patriarch's departure from Mesopotamia and the Israelites' liberation from Egypt was that Israel might be a nation. The *'ām* had been in Egypt for centuries anyway, where its numbers are stated to have become very large (Exod 1 9).

Yet we are told also on many occasions — and have the independent evidence of grammar and phraseology to the same effect — that, in terms of God's own connection with the people, Israel was his *'ām*. It was chosen and treated as such. But to carry out God's purpose, as that purpose is expressed by the Bible as a whole, the *'ām* was not enough; what was needed was the added status and stability of nationhood in a land specifically designated for that purpose.

With this last affirmation, one that is dictated by direct and explicit evidence, as we have seen, we touch on one of the very roots of the biblical process. The essence of that process was the undeviating quest for a worthy way of life, "the way of Yahweh," in the words of Gen 18 19. To be successful, that quest could not be confined to the care of an obsolescent nomadic society. It required the medium of an up-to-date civilization, a medium that could not function short of the institution of nationhood. But such an institution alone is but an empty form unless animated by the human element. As a historic process, therefore, a process that made world history, Israel can be understood only as both an *'ām* and a *gōy*. One without the other would be at best only a footnote to history.

¹¹ Similarly to Ishmael, Gen 17 20; 21 13, 18.

NOTES ON THEOLOGIANS' APPROACH TO THE BIBLE

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IN the June, 1959, issue of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* Nels F. S. Ferré sets forth a theologian's point of view concerning biblical hermeneutics. In parts I and II he presents some valid criticism and suggestions. In the opinion of the present writer, however, the article as a whole advocates presuppositions and methodology which lead to misinterpretation of the Bible. It renews my doubts concerning theologians' approach to the Bible, for the point of view in the article has long been characteristic of theologians.

Professor Ferré, with many other theologians, stresses the rôle of the knower in knowledge, the view that everyone has presuppositions, and therefore, by implication at least, that presuppositions are necessary. The major presupposition which he makes in his article is: "the Bible centers in the Christ," and therefore "Christ as the center alone provides the context for Christian interpretation," and "Therefore no Christian interpreter can go the Bible aright without going through Christ" (p. 110). The theologian is especially concerned with the level of the "total context" of the Bible (p. 109). This involves the "Christian context" which is Christ (p. 110). Professor Ferré states also: "I confess that I am constrained and convinced by the fact that there is no presuppositionless reasoning, that we have to have some context for thought, some configuration of interpretation, and that such a context affects our total understanding as well as our seeing of the parts" (p. 110). These premises deserve critical examination.

It is true that everyone, including scientists of all types, have presuppositions of some sort. Theological presuppositions, however, have two major weaknesses. In the first place, in sound scientific scholarship not only conclusions but even presuppositions are built upon evidence. They are not presuppositions based merely on "faith," in spite of some theologians' efforts to represent them thus. Scientific presuppositions, including those of sound biblical scholarship, are arrived at inductively, whereas theological presuppositions usually rest upon faith. Professor Ferré recognizes that his presupposition concerning the Christian context, Christ, is a presupposition of faith. The "Christian context is and remains a faith-stance. Ultimately we all live not by sight but by faith"

(p. 111). Ferré correctly admits that "the selection of Christ" as the total context for biblical hermeneutics is "a stance of faith" (p. 114).

A second weakness of theological presuppositions is that they resist all change. They tend to become dictators which control men's minds, and men are afraid to change them. As a group, scientists are far more willing to admit that they have been mistaken and more ready to change their presuppositions than are theologians. The reason is that theologians tend to be affected by the traditional religious attitude that it is a fatal sin to change one's religious beliefs. This attitude is still with us and prevents intellectual growth and true interpretation of the Bible. There have been many misinterpretations of the Bible because the interpreter was unwilling to change his presuppositions which rested on faith. Some biblical scholars, as well as theologians, have committed this error, but it results from the policy practiced by theologians throughout the history of the church. A theological presupposition is even more dangerous and more liable to fetter the mind when the interpreter regards that presupposition as *central* for faith and believes that the Bible should be interpreted in that context (which to him automatically becomes *the context*; and if he is a Christian, it becomes *the Christian context*).

Is the presupposition that "the Bible centers in the Christ" a valid one for biblical interpretation? In respect to the OT it definitely is not. Fundamentalism, of course, still claims that the OT prophesies Jesus, but modern scholarship long ago demonstrated the error of that presupposition. Parts of the OT speak of a future king, a descendant of David; but Jesus did not prove to be that type of Messiah, and in Mark 12 35-37 the Davidic descent of the Christ would seem to be rejected. Many early Christians held the presupposition that Christ is central in the OT and that Jesus fulfilled OT prophecy. But what was the consequence of that presupposition? The result was misinterpretation of the OT. Passages were lifted out of context and out of their historical setting in order to force them into the desired theological mold. Terms in the LXX were misinterpreted for the same purpose. An example of this misinterpretation is the treatment of Ps 16 10 in Acts 13 35. In the Psalm itself the Psalmist expresses his confidence that the Lord "will not permit thy holy one (or saint) to see corruption," that is, the Lord will not permit the Psalmist to perish. "Holy one" is not a reference to Jesus or to any Messiah, as the author of Acts implies, but to the Psalmist himself who trusts that the Lord will protect him. Then why did early Christians misinterpret this passage in the Psalms? The direct cause was theological presupposition. Having assumed that the resurrection of Jesus *must* be foretold in Scripture, early Christians misinterpreted the term "holy one" in the passage and applied it to Jesus. Other OT passages were similarly treated.

Many examples of what theological presupposition can do to biblical

interpretation occur in the literature of the Covenanters at Qumran. The Covenanters held the false theological presupposition that the history of their sect and the future of the world were predicted in the OT. The effect of that assumption was just what a historian would expect, namely, gross misinterpretation of the Scriptures.

With the rule that the Bible should be interpreted in its *total context* many of us are in hearty agreement. We only wish that theologians would practice it! When Christ is viewed as the total context, part of the context is inevitably omitted. For with that concept of the total, the interpreter shuts his eyes to evidence which shows that Christ is *not* the total. The total context is nothing less than the total of everything in the historical situation which contributes to the correct understanding of the Bible. The view that Christ is the total automatically excludes part of the historical context.

If the Bible is to be interpreted accurately, any presuppositions of the interpreter must be subject to correction if evidence demonstrates their error. A theological presupposition, however, tends to be a dogmatic presupposition; it is invariably so when it is made central, for then it definitely becomes a prejudice with which the interpreter must agree. Furthermore, we should make sure that the context in which the Bible is interpreted is *really* the total and does not exclude evidence contrary to our theological beliefs.

CRITICAL NOTES

EZRA 14

This note is concerned with determining what sentiments and measures the text attributes to Cyrus. It neither affirms nor denies that the text is historically reliable.

It seems to me that not sufficient attention has been paid by recent writers to the difficulty of the first element in the word *mikkol*, which is the preposition *min* with its final consonant assimilated to the initial consonant of the second element. If the phrase *מכל המקומות אשר הוא נר שם* is taken to modify the expression *וכל הנשאר* which precedes it, the sense of the verse can only be, "And all that (*or*, whatever) is left of any of the places where such a one (i. e., a member of the people of YHWH, the God of heaven, vs. 2-3) may be residing shall be assisted by the people of its place with silver, etc." — a muddleheaded sentence which does not deserve to be expounded. If, on the other hand, the phrase *מכל המקומות אשר הוא נר שם* is taken to modify the word *ינסאחוו* which follows it, the sense of the whole can only be, "And if anybody is left behind, his fellow townsmen shall, with silver, gold, etc., help him *out of* any of the places where such a one may be residing, etc." That would imply something very much like what Rashi infers, namely, that Cyrus expected only Jews who were short of funds to fail to take advantage of his permission to leave for Jerusalem; that he required the non-Jewish neighbors of such Jews (whose more favorably situated coreligionists would all have departed) to help such stay-behinds to emigrate; and that he also took it for granted that many non-Jews would of their own accord contribute to the rebuilding of the Jerusalem sanctuary. For, *pace* Bickerman¹ and Kaufmann,² it is not natural for *שם הוא נר שם* and *מכל מקומו* in this sentence both to refer to one party, the nonremigrating Jews, and for all the pronouns and pronominal suffixes to refer to another party, the remigrating Jew of vs. 3.³

That what we have seen to be the only possible sense of the masoretic text of Ezra 14 was ever proclaimed by Cyrus is, of course, more than doubtful. That alone, however, is not sufficient reason for suspecting its correctness; such a suspicion is only justified if it can be shown that the sense of MT is also contrary to the views of the person who

¹ E. J. Bickerman, *JBL*, LXV (1946), p. 260 with n. 71.

² Y. Kaufmann, *Toledot ha-emuna hay-yisre'elit*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1 (Pt. 8 of the entire work), p. 165 with n. 8.

³ Such confusing pronominal references to a party not named in the sentence itself are absent from the passages cited by Bickerman. (The reference to Lev 17 8 is to be corrected to Lev 17 8-9.)

reports this edict of Cyrus and its effect. But such is the case. The narrator's view (vss. 5-6) is that not everybody who could afford it but everybody whose spirit was roused by YHWH⁴ arose and returned to Zion, and that not the laggards but those same pioneers were assisted by their neighbors. Further reasons for uneasiness are first the word order of the sentence which MT yields, with the longish adverbial modifier כָּל שֶׁם הָיָה מִן הָעָם preceding the verb modified, and secondly the expression of the idea "to help somebody migrate from somewhere" by means of the rather harshly elliptical נָשָׂא אֶת פ' כֶּן. In the circumstances, an attempt to adjust MT by a plausible emendation⁵ to a sense similar to that which is desiderated by Bickerman and Kaufmann is amply warranted.

Such attempts have already been made by Batten⁶ and Bewer,⁷ but they cannot be regarded as successful. Batten modifies the surmised Hebrew original of the Lucianic recension of the LXX to obtain a text that is unconvincing by itself (for example, it begins with "and all who sojourn in the places shall help him," which makes one ask "In what places?") and incredible as the parent of either the Lucianic LXX's original or the masoretic text. Bewer, on the other hand, simply emends הָיָה לְהֵשֵׁב to obtain the sense: "And let the fellow townsmen of anyone who returns from any town where he may be residing assist him with silver, gold, etc." He is right in claiming that that makes excellent sense,⁸ and the original is also good Hebrew; but how did הָיָה become corrupted to הֵשֵׁב? Bewer believed that there had been an intermediary stage הֵיטֵב, which he claimed was reflected by I Esdras 24 (6). However, Walde⁹ had been right in seeing in I Esdras's *oikousi* merely a reflex of MT's נָשָׂא.

Even if it has no support in I Esdras and is beset with some semantic and (especially) graphic difficulties, Bewer's suggestion is to my knowledge the best yet. But since both the semantic and the graphic difficulties are there, an attempt at improvement is in order.

Now, whereas very few of the Jews living in Babylonia in 538 B.C.E. could literally return to Judah, and still fewer could literally return to Jerusalem, anybody who made

⁴ In passing I would remark that in vs. 5 הָיָה is almost certainly to be emended to הָיָה in the light of several Chronistic passages, particularly Ezra 8 25.

⁵ To be plausible, a proposed reading must of course, among other things, be one from which the received text can, without too much effort, be conceived as having arisen.

⁶ L. W. Batten, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (ICC), pp. 63 f.

⁷ J. A. Bewer, *Der Text des Buches Esra* (FRLANT), p. 12.

⁸ With the qualification that "anyone who returns" is somewhat loose language, since, in 538, most of the Jews who would leave Babylonia for Jerusalem would necessarily be such as had never been in Jerusalem before, and since even the origin of most of them was not Jerusalemite but provincial Judite. But then, Cyrus, in the view of our source, was concerned with the Jews only *qua* "the people of the God who is in Jerusalem" (vs. 3).

⁹ B. Walde, *Die Esdrasbücher* (Bibl. Stud. XVIII, 4), p. 70, cited by W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia, samt 3. Esra* (HAT I, 20), on Ezra 1 4.

the trek to Jerusalem would have to *set out* from his Babylonian home. The question therefore arises: Can our תושאר represent an easily understandable corruption of a word meaning not (as Bewer thought) "who returns" but "who sets out"? If we bear in mind that all other decrees of Persian kings are cited in the Bible in Aramaic, we shall reckon with the possibility that our Hebrew edict may be translated from an Aramaic text. And here we stumble upon a curious fact. Both the Jewish and the Samaritan targums regularly render the Hebrew טע "to trek," by the Aramaic טל, properly "to pick up," while a check of the pages indexed under *profectus est* at the end of C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*³ leads to three verbs whose literal meaning is "to pick up"; namely, *nsab* (rare in this sense of *profectus est*), *arim* (more common in this sense), and *ʿaql* (frequent in this sense), and also *aʿqel*. Accordingly, the Aramaic original of the beginning of Ezra 1:4 may easily have been וכל די יטל (cf. Dan 6:8); and only the professional pettifogger will deny that translators are forever rendering words by genuine but contextually inapposite equivalents, and that consequently a Hebrew translator might easily have rendered that phrase by וכל קוץ (instead of by וכל הירצא, וכל הנוסע, or the like). But what wonder that readers and copyists were puzzled to know the meaning of "anybody who picks up from any of the places" and that one of them guessed at תושאר 'that is left'? Read therefore טע (ה)ש, and substitute *emigrates* for *returns* in the above rendering of Bewer's restoration.

I have advisedly made the translation of יטעו "let . . . assist him," not "shall assist him." Vs. 4 can only be intended as permission and encouragement, as nobody doubts that vs. 3 is.¹⁰

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¹⁰ Kaufmann (see above n. 2) rightly speaks of permission to contribute. Some of those who did contribute may very well have been non-Jews, but our source does not mean that either Jews or others were obliged to contribute.

AN AWKWARD READING IN THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

In the first paragraph of the Damascus Document there occurs the reading ʾōthtā, which earlier writers rendered "after he had given them." Later writers rendered it "when he gave them," "when he delivered them," "as to his delivering them"; but the present writer feels that in view of the most satisfactory RSV rendering of a similar expression ʾokhlō in Job 20:21a by "after he had eaten," the earlier rendering

is to be preferred. But, as Isaac Rabinovitz² pointed out in 1954, the period of wrath, a period of 390 years, *began* with the great schism in the fourth year of Rehoboam 928 B.C., but *ended*, as the present writer showed,³ with the return from captivity in 538 B.C. It is a mistake to read "390 years *after*" as though the period of wrath was after the captivity. It was the visitation in blessing which was *during* the period of wrath and *after* the Exile in Babylon. The period of wrath was itself of 390 years duration. Only the expression "390 years" should be put in parenthesis. The schism incurred divine wrath, but when the exiles returned, they did so as a united people once more. Thus the passage concerned should be rendered: "And in the period of wrath — 390 years — after he had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he visited them . . ." *During* the period of wrath, and *after* their punishment by captivity and exile, they were restored to their own land by divine favor.

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¹ *JBL*, LXXIII (1954), pp. 11–35.

² *JBL*, LXXVI (1957), pp. 57 f.

THE UNAPPRECIATED LIGHT

The word *κατέλαβεν* in John 1:5 has been represented in English by several different terms: comprehend, overcome, master, understand, put out, etc. All of these are good translations of the word, but none of them seems to interpret the context satisfactorily.

"Comprehend" and "understand" are synonymous. *οὐ κατέλαβεν* indicates a lack of understanding, but the context seems to require something more. "Overcome" and "put out" suggest a struggle, while the passage does not portray a struggle between Light and Darkness. "Master" may be equated with "comprehend," "overcome," and other terms with varied significance; hence, it leaves the reader still seeking for a definite interpretation of the passage.

A study of a few of the other terms used in John 1:1–13 may help to clarify vs. 5. Vss. 5, 10, and 11 portray the same event. The light shining in the darkness, the creator coming into the cosmos, the owner coming into his possessions are all figures used to depict the coming of the *λόγος*. In like manner, *οὐ κατέλαβεν*, *οὐκ ἔγνω*, *οὐ παρέλαβον* are used to convey the sequel to that event. This seems to require similar meanings for all three terms. Again *οἱ δὲ ἔλαβον* in vs. 12 is apparently intended to cover all the exceptions to the general pattern indicated in these verses. It is a case of mass rejection, with acceptance by an almost negligible few. *ἔλαβον* is used as the direct opposite of all three negative phrases. Hence the positive forms of the verbs involved

should be translated in terms that convey the idea of acceptance. Some of the terms used to translate *ἔγω* and *παρέλαβον* conform to this pattern. On the other hand, some of those used for *κατέλαβεν* suggest the contrary.

Goodspeed's interpretation of the tenses in vs. 5 seems warranted. However, his use of "for" to represent *καί* does not seem to merit the same approval. *Καί* is used in vs. 5 in much the same way as it is used in vs. 10 where he translates it "though." The only apparent reason for giving it the opposite meaning in vs. 5 is that his translation of *κατέλαβον* requires it. The same may be said of translators who use "but" to represent *καί* in this verse. Yet the usual "and" does not seem to satisfy the context.

For a satisfactory interpretation of the verse the following seem necessary:

- (a) Adopt Goodspeed's interpretation of the tenses and the negative particle.
- (b) Substitute his rendering of *καί* in vs. 10 for that in vs. 5.
- (c) Translate *κατέλαβεν* with a word closely related in meaning to those used for *ἔγω*, *παρέλαβον*, and *ἔλαβον*, i. e., one that conveys the idea of acceptance.

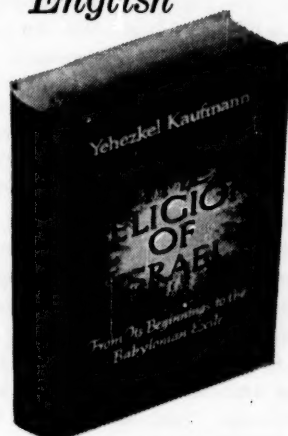
Our translation should then be somewhat like the following: "The light still shines in the darkness, even though the darkness has never appreciated it."

JACOB A. DYER

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BOOK REVIEWS

La Sainte Bible, traduite en français sous la direction de l'École Biblique de Jérusalem. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1956. Pp. xvi+1670, and 8 maps. 1800 fr. cloth, 3000 fr. vinyl, 6000 fr. leather, 9000 fr. morocco.

The new French translation known as "the Jerusalem Bible" is a collective enterprise representing the best of modern French Catholic biblical scholarship. The distinguished names of the members of the Committees of Direction and Revision and the principal collaborators — Abel, Benoit, De Vaux, Schwab, Spicq, Starcky, Steinman, and Vincent — to mention only a few — are an earnest of the high standard of scholarship and literary excellence to be expected and the reader will not be disappointed.

The work was begun in 1946 and appeared in 43 separate volumes between 1946 and 1953. The separate works have now been combined in a single volume, with necessary abridgment and condensation of the notes. The order of the books, of course, follows the Vulgate, but tables of the Hebrew and Greek order are given. Brief but excellent introductions are furnished to the Pentateuch, Joshua-Kings, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, Tobit-Judith-Esther, with separate introductions to Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and the Prophets. The NT is supplied with introductions to the Synoptics, John and the Johannine epistles, Acts, the Pauline epistles, the Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse. The appendices include chronological tables, calendars, tables of weights and measures and coins, and an index to the most important notes, this last feature being a key to a veritable treasure of information. Finally there are eight useful maps, four in color.

The translation is from the original languages and the text is established by rigorous criticism in accordance with Pius XXI's Encyclical of 1943, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, (cf. Arbez, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* XIV (1952), pp. 237 ff. and especially p. 242). Details of textual criticism, however, are omitted and only the most important variants are noted when there is marked deviation from the "received text." Passages considered as glosses are put in parentheses. Details are given in the separate volumes.

It is possible here to take only a few samples of the translation and notes.

Isa 7 14b, "Voici: la jeune fille est enceinte et va enfanter un fils" The note explains that Hebrew *'almah* designates a young girl, or young woman recently married, and adds, "Mais le texte des LXX est un témoin précieux de l'interprétation juive ancienne, qui sera consacrée par l'Évangile: Mt 1 23 trouve ici l'annonce de la conception virginal du Christ."

II Kings 4 42 is rendered conjecturally "et du grain frais en épi" apparently following Cassuto's explanation of the enigmatic word from *bsql* in the Ugaritic epic of Danel and Aqhat.

Prov 31 30 follows the LXX, rendering "la femme sage." The RSV makes no mention of this very interesting reading which is almost certainly the original.

Ps 23 (22), so well-known in the traditional tendentious renderings, is a test of critical courage. The RSV made no changes in the KJ except in a few modernizations, "leadeth" to "leads," etc. In the Jerusalem Bible "La vallée de l'ombre de la mort" becomes "un ravin de ténèbre," as with Luther. The last verse is rendered "ma demeure est la maison de Yahve en la longueur des jours" (cf. E. Vogt, *Biblia* 34 (1953), pp. 209 f.

Criticism is perhaps carried to excess with the omission of מִמָּוֶה before עֲמִיר in vs. 4b with rearrangement:

"près de moi ton bâton, ta houlette
sont ce qui me consolent."

The reviewer can make no pretence of competence to judge the literary quality of the work. Criticism on this score must be left to Frenchmen. As far as this foreigner can tell, the translation has simplicity and great beauty. The few samples that have been cited may suffice to indicate the high quality of the scholarship and scrupulous honesty which characterize the work as a whole. The Jerusalem Bible sets and achieves standards which will both challenge and inspire current and future efforts of scholars to promote understanding of the Bible.

MARVIN H. POPE

YALE UNIVERSITY

La Bible, Parole humaine et Message de Dieu, by Jean Levie, S. J. Paris-Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1958. Pp. 345.

Jean Levie, professor of biblical studies at Louvain has given us an excellent "compte rendu" of the state of biblical studies in the Roman Catholic Church, while offering at the same time a splendid instance of the best fruits of those studies. In both respects this book is a most worthy representative of the "biblical movement" in the Roman Catholic Church.

The author has divided the book in two parts. The first deals historically with the development of biblical studies both in Roman Catholicism and Protestantism since 1850. The dividing line in this period is found in 1914. The survey of archeological studies and discoveries and the appraisal of their significance are useful. The discussion of the critical and theological studies in Protestantism underlines the break between the 1850-1914 period and that following. The latter is for the author a "return" to a healthier theological perspective, though he does not overlook the scientific gains of the "liberal" period. While agreeing basically in this estimate, this reviewer wonders whether the liberal period can be simply characterized as estrangement, from which

only a few scientific tools can be rescued. One wonders whether biblical studies in this period had not grasped — however inadequately — an element essential for a correct theological understanding of Scripture, i. e., the radically historical character of the Bible. Is it not the unwillingness to acknowledge fully this fact what renders the Roman Catholic (and many a Protestant) theologian unable to reach an adequate view of revelation?

The chapters devoted to the progress of biblical studies in the Roman Catholic Church are among the most valuable in the book, particularly a very detailed and penetrating analysis of the encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. Levie acknowledges that Roman Catholic theology was gripped in the anti-modernist reaction by a strong conservatism inimical to all critical study, though he maintains that even in the worst moments of that struggle the official pronouncements of the church never failed to make room for the acknowledgement of the human element in the Bible and therefore, implicitly, the human characteristics of the book. As the reaction subsided, the equilibrium was restored, as a comparison of the decisions of the Biblical Commission during the crisis and in the last decade will show. The encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* of Pius XII, a "liberating" document, is the finest authoritative manifestation of this balance. It asserts with utter clearness the character of the Bible as human word and as the Word of God.

This double character of the Bible is explored systematically in the second part of the book. Since the Bible is the work of men and the word of God, the theologian has a double task: to understand the human writer in the concreteness of his historical location and to rise from this understanding of the human author to God's message. Levie does not discuss at length the problem raised by the double character of the Bible: How can the word of man be at the same time a message of God? He seems to accept the traditional scheme of main and instrumental cause. This scheme has been subjected to a devastating criticism by Karl Rahner, S. J., in his book, *Ueber die Schriftinspiration*, (Freibourg, 1958), and it is strange that Levie does not make use of the alternative offered by Rahner which seems akin to his basic position.

The recognition that God speaks to us in the words of men leads to the acknowledgement and acceptance of the human characteristics of the Bible: the different degrees of affirmation in human statements, the distinction between the judgments made by the Bible and the concepts used to express them, the use of different writing devices (implicit or explicit quotations, reproduction of earlier sources, etc.), the literary styles (particularly the various historical "genres" with the different type of objectivity or factuality corresponding to each). At some points the discussion is cautiously left undecided, but it is quite evident that the author strives to give full recognition to the human character of the biblical record. Together with this goes the insistence on the need of interpreting the biblical texts within the total theological perspective ("la synthèse théologique") of the particular writer concerned, and the whole biblical context, thus taking account both of the unity and the diversity of the Bible.

This acknowledgement of the right and legitimacy of critical and historical study must be placed in the context of the Roman Catholic understanding of the relation of

Bible and church, which Levie maintains at all points. Scripture transcends the original meaning intended by the authors. It has a deeper meaning which the authors could not fathom entirely but which God intended and discloses in the life and thought of the church. As Levie puts it, the Bible has "two contexts": that corresponding to the time in which it was written, and that of the life of the church at each period. These two contexts are "evidently homogeneous" (p. 334); the homogeneity being guaranteed by the *charisma veritatis* given to the church. That is, in virtue of the infallibility of the church, the present understanding of the Bible in the church, as defined in its dogmatic tradition and pronouncements, must be taken by the Roman Catholic exegete as a point of departure, which can in no way be contradicted by the historical and critical examination of the texts. Certainly, the scholar will not compromise his scientific honesty to strike an artificial agreement, but he must never accept the possibility of disagreement. This basic dogmatic presupposition is — Levie points out — what characterizes the Roman Catholic scholar in distinction from the Protestant (pp. 278, 280 ff.).

It is evident that Levie has explored all the possibilities given in the Roman Catholic understanding of Scripture for a full acknowledgement of the historical character of revelation as witnessed in the Bible. The admirable lucidity and depth of the discussion, the seriousness of the attempt make the final question all the more pressing: Can such a full acknowledgement be reached within the presuppositions of Roman Catholic theology? Is it really an historical word which is raised above the risk of fallibility? Is an understanding of Scripture historical which is exempted from the possibility of error and correction? We meet here basic differences in the understanding of the relation of revelation and history which subsist even when common misunderstandings at more superficial levels are dispelled. Both in the overcoming of these misunderstandings and in the clarity with which it points to the basic questions — as well as for its intrinsic scholarly value — Levie's work must be greeted as an outstanding contribution to biblical and theological studies and to the ecumenical dialogue.

JOSÉ MÍGUEZ-BONINO

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Jeremia, by Wilhelm Rudolph. (Handbuch zum alten Testament, 12.) 2., verbesserte Auflage. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1958. Pp. xxiv+301. DM 26.

In this revision of Rudolph's 1947 work we have what is probably the best modern commentary on Jeremiah. The author wisely preserves the most valuable results of past scholarship, while giving careful consideration to many of the latest developments in prophetic studies. His greatest debt appears to be to Mowinckel, at least in regard

to the problem of the composition of the book, but he is not unmindful of the contributions of the many other commentators on the Book of Jeremiah.

Rudolph's format for the commentary lacks only the inclusion of the Hebrew text. For each section he gives the German translation, critical notes on the important textual problems (recalling his work on the text of Jeremiah in *Biblia Hebraica*³), and the commentary proper, which is almost always purely analytical and expository in the best sense, and never simply homiletical or theological. His broader outline of the book follows the traditional and generally accepted division: chaps. 1-25, 26-35, 46-51, 52. One exception here is his decision to treat 25 15-38 as the introduction to 46-51, on the basis of the arrangement in the Greek text and his own analysis (pp. 149 ff., 245 ff.). Rudolph's position on the life, work, and theology of Jeremiah is consistent with that of most recent studies of the prophet.

Only a few general comments on certain aspects of the book can be made in this review. Mowinckel's understanding of the "sources" behind the book, which he unimaginatively labeled A, B, and C (and later preferred to think of as "traditions"), is accepted by Rudolph, although he differs in details on the contents of the three blocks of material. He agrees with Mowinckel, against Eissfeldt and T. H. Robinson, that the *Urrolle* or Baruch Scroll is to be found in the "A" section (parts of chaps. 1-25). However, he does not give as much emphasis to the place of the oral tradition in Jeremiah as does Mowinckel, and throughout the commentary is singularly reluctant to allow the traditio-historians any influence over his views of the composition of Jeremiah.

Rudolph is convinced that the *Heilsweissagungen* in chaps. 26-35 were meant primarily for Northern Israel, with Judah being included only through later editorial treatment, and that this is especially the case with the important New Covenant passage (31 31-34). He argues that the Jeremianic oracles in 30-31 were spoken early in the prophet's career, i. e., between 621 and 609 (p. 172), rather than later as most commentators believe. In regard to Mowinckel's "C" material, Rudolph accepts the idea of a Deuteronomic version of certain sayings and sermons by Jeremiah. The Deuteronomists did not freely compose this material, but made use of the genuinely original words of the prophet.

Such a statement contains a hint of one of the very few limitations in this commentary, so far as the reviewer is concerned. And that is the author's continued utilization of some of the outdated principles of source analysis in literary criticism. The interest in separating the "genuine" and the "not genuine," the reference to sources as such, and the failure to take into consideration sufficiently the significance of traditio-nary circles and tradition history are indications of a certain weakness in methodology. To say this, however, is certainly not to depreciate the real value of a most excellent commentary on the book of the prophet Jeremiah.

J. STANLEY CHESNUT

UNIVERSITY OF TULSA

La Seconde Épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens, by Jean Héring. Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestle. Pp. 111.

While the NT world is eagerly waiting for the new Meyer Commentary on II Cor by R. Bultmann and E. Dinkler, the exposition of the epistle by J. Héring is a worthy precursor. Having contributed already excellent commentaries on I Cor and Heb to the series, his work on II Cor will also prove to be important for the exegete and pastor.

The outstanding features of this commentary are i) the concise introduction, ii) the translation of the text, iii) the clarity of the argument, and iv) the pointed confrontation with other interpreters in the text and footnotes. A short comment on each of these follows.

i) Héring accepts the division of the letter as originally proposed by Hausrath in 1870: the "letter of tears" (II Cor 2 4) is (partly) covered by chaps. 10-13; chaps. 1-8 form the reconciliation letter. The unhappy transition between chaps. 8 and 9 forces Héring to adopt a suggestion made by Semler in 1776 to the effect that chap. 9 is a collection note sent with Titus to Corinth prior to II Cor 1-8. It remains, however, unclear (p. 13) how this collection note exactly fits into Titus' journeys to Corinth. Did Titus visit Corinth three times, each time with a letter (II Cor 10-13; II Cor 9; II Cor 1-8)? Or must we suppose that II Cor 9 and II Cor 10-13 were carried together, which seems unlikely if not impossible (cf. 9 15 and 10 1 ff.)? It would have benefitted his colleagues in other lands if Héring had adopted the example of Leenhardt (Romans in this series) by listing in his bibliography important French articles now hidden in the footnotes.

ii) The translation of the text is remarkable. It is well-known how difficult the text of II Cor is, how intricate the questions of punctuation, etc. Héring relies in his translation on the excellent work of P. Osty in *La Sainte Bible* (L'École Biblique de Jerusalem, 1956), but not slavishly. He makes quick decisions in matters of "coupure" and his translations are always discussed in the commentary. (See especially the paronomasia of 3 2: "vue et lue," p. 35; the translation of 1 11 (?); 5 17, 18; 11 12, etc.)

iii) There is real clarity in the argumentation. A freshness pervades this commentary, which comes to the point quickly without losing the reader in abstruse comments for which II Cor gives every opportunity. The conciseness of the commentary leads at times to omissions and cryptic references: Héring omits a discussion of παράκλησις in the "paraklesis" chapter (chap. 1) and does not indicate its fundamental importance for the letter as a whole. Likewise, one looks in vain for the basic importance of πέποιθα and πεποιθήσις. In the discussion of 1 11 one might have expected a reference to Kümmel's sane remarks and the work of Boobyer. The possibility of 3 17 as an exegetical comment by Paul of the previous OT verse is not mentioned (cf. Schneider: *Dominus autem Spiritus*), but the punctuation is interesting: οὐ δὲ ὁ κύριος, τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν. The correlation between chap. 3 and 4 16 is not stressed and the εἰκὼν motif of 4 4 not integrated with the δόξα motif of chap. 3 (cf. Jervell: *Imago Dei*). These critical comments are not meant to detract from the great classical learning which the author conveys with conciseness.

iv) Although every critic can dig up obscure articles and blame an author for omissions, I believe it is fair to point out certain glaring omissions. There is no mention of Bultmann's *Exegetische Probleme des IIen Kor-briefes* (1947); nor of Käsemann's crucial article on the apostolate in II Cor (ZNW 1942) — especially conspicuous because Héring has an appendix on the question of the apostolate. It would seem that A. Schlatter's *Paulus, der Bote Jesu* (1934) deserved to be mentioned, and in the context of II Cor 5, K. Deissner's *Auferstehungshoffnung und Pneumagedanke* (1907). Although one may dislike the 'Pangnosticism' of Schmithals (*Die Gnosis in Korinth*, 1956), one must come to terms with the question of the Pauline opposition in Corinth. Héring does not face this question vigorously, and the commentary suffers from it. The references to the opposition remain ambiguous. The appendix (pp. 107 ff.) connects the Corinthian apostles with Jerusalem and the family of Jesus, whereas the commentary cryptically refers to proto-Ebionites (p. 85) and Gnostics (p. 79); suddenly *νόημα* (10 s) refers to "la culture intellectuelle de l'époque" which in apologetic fashion à la Clement of Alexandria must be made to serve the Christian cause. It seems to this reviewer that the specific idea of the Pauline apostolate is not made clear because the nature of the opposition is not clarified.

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PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Apocalypse 12, Histoire de l'exégèse, by Pierre Prigent. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1959. Pp. vi+154. No price.

At present, two series of particular importance for biblical students are coming from the publishing house of J. C. B. Mohr in Tübingen: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese* and *Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik*. The second volume in the first of the above-mentioned series is this study by Pierre Prigent of the history of the exegesis of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse of John. The series promises to provide the history of the exegesis of many of the central and/or most variously interpreted passages in the Bible. The list of contributors to the series will be international in character, and the volumes will be published in German, French, or English.

Apocalypse 12 was chosen for such a study because consciously or not it has always been treated as the center and the key of the entire book. Furthermore, the difficulties of this chapter constitute a kind of touchstone of the different systems of interpretation. Finally, it is one of the few passage of the NT which lend themselves to mariological exegesis. The method of study followed by Prigent has been that of a chronological outline tempered and put into a more manageable form by an examination of the great types of interpretation and of the influences and connections between them.

After surveying the history of the interpretation of Apocalypse 12 from Hippolytus to the most recent commentators, Prigent concludes with a brief outline of his own interpretation, which has benefited both from the labors of his predecessors and the

literature of Qumran. The author has not included a separate bibliography, but all the works he has consulted are amply cited in the footnotes. An alphabetical list of the names of authors at the end of the book gives it added value for reference purposes.

That Prigent has been able in a relatively few pages to summarize so large an amount of material has been due in large part to his discernment of the great types of interpretation, his understanding of the exegetes who clearly belong within a particular type, and his delineation of the influences and connections between certain interpreters. At the same time, he does not seem to be guilty of having labeled exegetes arbitrarily in order to secure a neat classification, but appears to be quite sensitive to an interpreter's peculiar contributions.

While the work of the many who have labored before him should not bind the biblical student or predetermine his course in opening the word of God afresh to his generation, it can inform, stimulate, and challenge his own study. The history of the interpretation of a particular passage of scripture makes available the fruit of the previous generations to the contemporary exegete. It is Prigent's achievement to have done this with the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse. From now on, the student who would make a serious study of the Apocalypse must utilize Prigent's work as one of his basic tools. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes in this series will be of similar value for the study of other portions of the Bible.

RICHARD W. HASKIN

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in the Gospel of John: A Critique of Rudolf Bultmann's Present Eschatology, by David Earl Holwerda. Kampen: J. H. Kok N.V., 1959. Pp. xiv + 141. (Distributed in the U. S. by Eerdmans.)

This book is a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Free University of Amsterdam by an American. The author is primarily concerned in the most general terms with offering a critique of the way in which Bultmann handles eschatology; he recognizes, however, the need to give a sharper focus to this debate. Not subscribing wholly either to Barth's judgment that it is impossible to carry on an exegetical discussion with Bultmann without turning to examine the presuppositions with which he operates (*Kirchliche Dogmatik*, III/2, p. 534), nor to that of Hartlich and Sachs that Bultmann's "presuppositions" are but the pure fruit of his exegesis (*Kerygma und Mythos*, II, p. 113), Holwerda is of the opinion that such an exegetical discussion is possible in connection with the Fourth Gospel since this document plays such an important rôle in Bultmann's thought; though Bultmann's presuppositions continue to operate in the exegesis of this Gospel, his claim is that they are confirmed here, with the result that they now fall properly within the area of exegetical debate.

The first part of the book offers, accordingly, an exposition of Johannine teaching regarding the Holy Spirit and eschatology. Three chapters are devoted to the Holy Spirit in its relation to the departure of Jesus, the work of Jesus, and the return of

Jesus, respectively. The Johannine material, drawn chiefly from the Farewell Discourses, is organized in word studies of such key terms as *δοξάζω*, *ὁρῶ*, *ὁπάω*, *παράκλητος*, and *ὁρφάνος*. The author's conclusions here are: (1) The gift of the Spirit described in John 20 22 is to be taken neither as the Johannine equivalent of Pentecost nor as the fulfillment of the promise of the Paraclete in the Farewell Discourses nor as the event referred to by the evangelist in his note in 7 39; instead it belongs to another order as a renewal of the apostolic office to equip the disciples for their "official task." (2) The coming of the Spirit-Paraclete, as protector and defender of the disciples, otherwise left defenseless (*ὁρφάνος*, 14 18, in the sense of *πρωχός*) in their "judicial contest with the world" by the departure of the first Paraclete, Jesus, makes a history-of-salvation perspective requisite for a proper understanding of the gospel. (3) The coming of Jesus which is promised in 14 18 ff. and 16 18 ff. is indeed to be identified with the coming of the Paraclete, but this is not the final parousia for the evangelist; it is to be taken not as excluding a salvation history ending with an apocalyptic parousia but only as a token of this gospel's preoccupation with the interim period before the final manifestation of the kingdom.

Chap. IV attempts to trace the inner logic of Bultmann's total handling of NT eschatology, including that of Jesus, the earliest church, and Paul. Chap. V, finally, presents Bultmann's exegesis of John 14 and 16, with a closing critique: whereas Bultmann finds a legitimate point of contact in the "fulfilled eschatology" of chaps. 16 and 18, his characteristic notions about revelation and eschatological existence are not adequately supported by this Johannine teaching but require in addition that Bultmann negate the history of salvation present in John "by reducing Easter, Pentecost, and Parousia to the moment of Proclamation and by denying the history-of-salvation significance ascribed to the disciples in the Gospel of John" (p. 126).

The total argument of the book I find to be entirely unconvincing; yet it is a provocative book because of the issues it throws up. The obviously conservative cast of the book has in itself nothing to do with this judgment; the author has entered upon an exegetical discussion with Bultmann, and it is on that level that his work is to be evaluated. He, too, has his presuppositions, but his intent is to keep these under control and not to allow, for instance, his polemical interest to get in the way of an independent exposition of the Johannine text. (Besides, cannot a Lohmeyer be cited for the position that the Fourth Gospel and Revelation were produced by a common author? Cf. p. 57, n. 141.) His treatment of Bultmann is on the whole just and often illuminating. One might question a few blanket statements made, but here Bultmann is himself to some extent at fault since certain assertions — about Johannine eschatology in particular — which occur in the *Theology* and shorter works turn out to be qualified and modified in the richer contexts of *Das Evangelium des Johannes*. Though it is a serious overstatement when Holwerda claims that "the validity of Bultmann's interpretation of John rests upon his ability to prove the existence of such a source" (*scil.* the Gnostic *Offenbarungsreden*; p. 108, n. 84), actually he himself does not dispense with Bultmann that easily and so does not wholly subscribe to his own oversimplification. Again, whether Bultmann is right in his assertion that there is no *Heilsgeschichte* in the Fourth Gospel is a matter of definition as well as of exegesis, for both those who dissent and

those who concur have first to fill that conceptual cipher in one way or another with meaning and then to fit it to the realities of the Johannine text. Finally, who does not know that "Bultmann rejects the resurrection and the appearances as objective-historical events on dogmatic grounds, not exegetical" (p. 129)? But it is a colossal *non sequitur* to deduce from this confirmation for the thesis that we are not to take John 20 at its face value and find here a unique tradition and perspective which fuses Easter and Pentecost. In this fusing the death of Jesus, as a "glorification," an "exaltation," a "return to the Father," is also involved. The evidence is repeatedly cited by Holwerda, but its force is continually evaded by reading into the Johannine "glorification" passages (e. g., 11 4, 12 16, 12 23) allusions not only to Jesus' death but also to a resurrection and ascension distinguished from the former by a rationale imported from Luke-Acts — and so no longer understood in terms indigenous to the Fourth Gospel itself. The same, I think, needs to be said about Holwerda's stress upon the disciples' "official task" in chaps. II and V.

All this is only to point once again to the exegetical task with which we are all confronted; namely, the understanding of the Fourth Gospel on its *own* terms. That task requires of all, perhaps particularly of the conservative exegete, a willingness to let the Fourth Gospel confront the reader of the NT with *real* theological variety. My own feeling, confirmed in the reading of this book, is that we will not be able adequately to interpret or evaluate this evangelist's reinterpretation of Ascension, Pentecost, and Parousia until we have more closely examined the way in which, in part by his handling of these, he reinterprets the death of Jesus.

PAUL W. MEYER

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Jesus in the Gospel of John, by T. C. Smith. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1959. Pp. ix+198.

In this clearly written study Professor Smith takes as his major question, What was the purpose for which the Fourth Evangelist wrote? His answer is:

After the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 antagonism between Christians and Jews increased to such an extent that all hope must have vanished for anything like a widespread belief in Christ on the part of the Jews. The Jews became more settled in the Torah as the way to life, and it became increasingly difficult to appeal to them with any other salvation than *mitzvah* (commandment) salvation. It was during this time that another Jewish Christian, recognizing the desperate situation of the Jews, picked up his reed and wrote a gospel, wording and arranging it in such a manner as to furnish conclusive proof to the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God. This work was the Fourth Gospel (pp. 15 f.).

Smith develops his thesis by surveying the post A.D. 70 relations between the parent faith and its offspring, and by showing how in the light of these developments various data in the Gospel are to be understood as directed to the author's Jewish contemporaries. The author was aware of normative Jewish expectations concerning the

Messiah: his origin must be obscure (7 27), he must perform signs (7 31), he must come from Bethlehem (7 42), he will abide forever (12 34). But the author wished to show that Jesus' sonship was unique. He defended the gospel against attack by furnishing proof to the Jews "that they had become sectarian and that the Christians were in the main stream of the will and way of God" (p. 99); but his apologia was mainly evangelistic, answering effectively the Jewish Messianic dogmatic, showing politically nervous Jews that Jesus was a Messiah whose kingdom was not of this world, making clear that confession of Jesus as Lord would not be a violation of monotheism but rather would solve the problems posed by the post A.D. 70 "Ichabod days." For in Jesus the *logos* (a term which would be understood within normative Judaism as the divine utterance — p. 65) had pitched his tent among us. Thus the Evangelist appealed to his Jewish readers to follow his own experience, (20 30 t., reading aorist), that is, to exchange one grace for another (Smith's interpretation of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ ἀντὶ χάριτος in 1 16), to abandon their faulty exegesis (5 30), to embrace the new Torah (the new commandment, 13 34), and to perceive that the localized presence of God was now with those who believed on Jesus as Messiah, the Son of God (14 13).

In a foreword, William Manson rightly accents Smith's keen knowledge of Judaism. It is helpfully apparent at many points in the argument, and few will doubt that he has illumined some of the many facets to the Johannine diamond. His work makes it clear that a convincing theory regarding the origin of the Fourth Gospel must explain the presence of data reflecting a remarkable knowledge of Jewish-Palestinian life (the Bethzatha sign in chap. 5 is only one example) and of rabbinic theology. But it is a long step from this kind of data, which may tell us something about the background of the author or/and his sources, to Smith's affirmation that the evidence offered makes it "unlikely that anyone could propose any intention of the author other than to set forth an apology to the Jews" (p. 9). Indeed a quite similar thesis advanced by Karl Bornhäuser in a book not widely available (*Das Johannesevangelium, eine Missionschrift für Israel*, Gütersloh, 1928) received telling criticism from Walter Bauer (*ThR*, N.F., 1, 1929, pp. 144-146), Wilhelm Oehler (*Das Johannesevangelium, eine Missionschrift für die Welt*, 1936), and Otto Heick (*Lutheran Church Quarterly*, 8, 1935, pp. 173-190). It is true that Smith's argument is not subject to some of the objections raised against Bornhäuser's. His recognition of the correspondence between the *Birchath ha-minim* and the Johannine ἀποσυνάγωγος is a clear improvement over Bornhäuser's insistence on a date prior to the disruptive impact of A.D. 70. But other objections remain.

Does the theory of Jewish addressees seem plausible for the second half of the document, which presents an intimate picture of Jesus and "his own," and which is certainly characterized by such words as those of 16 1-4 which clearly distinguish a "you" (the Christian readers) from a "they" (Jewish persecutors)? Smith does not propose a *σημεῖα* source (see p. 84), but one is bound to wonder if his argument is not more relevant for such a source, which may lie predominantly in the first half of the document, than for the Gospel as a whole (cf. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, p. 78, n. 4, where the suggestion is made that part of the hypothetical *σημεῖα*-Quelle may have had its origin "im Judentum").

And how is the author's reinterpretation of primitive Christian eschatology to be explained if he writes in order to evangelize Jews? (cf. p. 122). What does it mean that he uses the highly significant term *κρίσις* in such a way as to presuppose the difference between its meaning and that of the Hebrew term *מִשְׁפָּט* (cf. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 210)? When one compares the Synoptic treatments of judgment with those of the Fourth Evangelist, one is faced with the possibility that John has recast the proclamation for persons to whom Jewish time-concepts are relatively meaningless (cf. E. Schweizer, "Orthodox Proclamation," *Interpretation*, 8, 1954, pp. 387 ff.). Smith's argument would have gained persuasiveness had such objections been clearly stated and answered. It is as it stands, however, a helpful contribution toward our understanding of the Fourth Gospel.

LOUIS MARTYN

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Die Verklärung Jesu, by Heinrich Baltensweiler, (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, No. 33). Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959. Pp. 150, n.p.

Let it be stated at once that this is an excellent study of an exceedingly difficult problem. Though Feuillet and Dodd are not in the bibliography, it reveals a wide acquaintance with the literature on the Transfiguration, periodical and other, but even more an admirable ability, while making full use of the form-critical method, to pass through and beyond it to an unprejudiced examination of the strictly historical problem raised by Mark 9:1, and its parallels. The volume is marked by a fine critical acumen. Baltensweiler has not sat in vain at the feet of Cullmann and Kümmel.

The introduction examines previous interpretations of the Transfiguration from Strauss to Bacon and down to our own day, which has seen important contributions by Blinzler, Holler, Boobyer, and Riesenfeld. Chap. I proceeds to a survey of the sources available; nothing significant is to be gained from the noncanonical material, and, while there may be traces of the Transfiguration in the Fourth Gospel and in II Pet 1:16-18, of the Gospels, Mark, as we would expect, offers the basic text, Luke and Matthew being dependent on it and having introduced modifications which are not fundamental. Disclaiming Bornkamm's position that we seek for historical fact in vain in the Transfiguration, and rejecting, very convincingly, the view, popular recently, that the Transfiguration is a postresurrection event transferred to the ministry (he could here have profitably strengthened his case from Professor Dodd's work in the Lightfoot *Festschrift*), he claims to discover behind Mark's account an historical core, which can be satisfactorily interpreted in the light of the ministry. The Markan account is in two parts: 9:2-10, 11-13. The smallest independent unit in these complexes is 9:2-8; within this again 9:6 and 7b are editorial, so that the earliest core, around which the 9:2-13 is built, consists of 9:2-8, 7a, 8. These verses deal with an experience in the life

of Jesus in which he was confirmed in his understanding of his Messiahship in terms of suffering, and in his rejection of the nationalistic concept of Messiahship. Thus an actual occurrence related to Jesus' rejection of Zealot nationalism (at its height in the Feast of Tabernacles to which the Transfiguration belongs) lies behind Mark 9:2-8, 7a, 8. But the remainder of 9:2-13 reveals a shift in emphasis from Jesus to the disciples: from being secondary, the latter become the central figures. For their sake is the *bath qôl* uttered, its aim being to reveal Jesus to them as the Messiah and glorified King even in his ministry of suffering. Thus, although there is a shift of emphasis, the essential content of the experience of Jesus is presented in the understanding of the disciples of it. The details with which this thesis is developed, everywhere enriching, cannot be given here.

Not all will agree even with the presupposition of this volume that it is legitimate to look for what happened in the ministry of Jesus himself. But one of the refreshing characteristics of this work is just its concern to penetrate behind the tradition to Jesus himself; and the author has made a good case for his thesis. At two points one might venture to criticize. Can such a rigid distinction be drawn between the *bath qôl* in rabbinic sources and in the NT, (p. 104, n. 9), particularly in the Transfiguration, where Baltensweiler himself recognizes that it is a secondary interpretative addition? More seriously, we are not convinced that the Transfiguration is so unconcerned with the concept of Jesus as a New Moses, especially in the modifications introduced by Matthew. But, apart from such minor doubts, we repeat that this study deserves the warmest welcome.

W. D. DAVIES

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Paschal Liturgy and the Apocalypse, by Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., (Ecumenical Studies in Worship, No. 6). Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960. Pp. 99. \$1.50.

In this careful and illuminating monograph Professor Shepherd traces the origins and development of the Easter liturgy to the year A.D. 200. Writing with his customary facility in these matters, he presents his theme with clarity, argues it with cogency, and documents it with precision. Students of the NT as well as of the liturgy will be grateful for this survey.

Part I, comprising five chapters, attempts to outline what little can be gleaned from the gospels and Paul about the Christian Pascha, especially in its relation to the primitive Eucharist. Professor Shepherd argues for the Johannine dating of the Last Supper, and finds indications in Mark's gospel for the Roman church's Pascha. He treats the Quartodeciman controversy along the traditional lines that the Asiatic practice was the original one. The Roman custom, however, he argues was first suggested by the Gospel of Mark; and he judges that the Westerners "rightly suspected" the Asiatic celebration as a "Judaizing practice" (p. 14), because of the correspondence

between "Law" and "gospel," which it urged and on which it was founded (p. 46). The author then outlines the Easter liturgy on the basis of Hippolytus and Tertullian, and concludes this part of his work by showing how the daily hours reflected paschal themes.

Part II suggests that a main feature of the structure of the Apocalypse is the paschal liturgy. The seven letters represent the scrutinies; the vigil is the heavenly assembly; the lessons are the six seals; the initiation is the sealing of the white-robed martyrs. The synaxis with its prayers, lections (of law, prophets, and gospel), and psalmody is reflected in the seventh seal, the censuring, the trumpets, the woes and the Hallelujah. Finally the Eucharist is seen in the marriage supper and the consummation.

These suggestions are worked out with a good deal of ingenuity, and they do cast some light upon the obscurities of the Apocalypse. The author, moreover, does not claim the Apocalypse is a paschal liturgy or even a commentary on it. Rather did that liturgy suggest to the seer a "structural pattern" for his prophecy (p. 83).

A brief review cannot do justice to the details of Shepherd's book or enter into any significant criticism. The period covered and the topic itself raise the most basic problems of method both in liturgy and in NT. Here Shepherd is conservative in approach and is not putting forward any revolutionary thesis. He has done for the Apocalypse what Dr. Cross did for I Peter and Cullmann for the Gospel of John. One is inclined to say, "There is something in it, but not as much as they think." It would be illuminating to take some pages of Barth or of the new *Pilgrim Hymnal* and show how they reflect the structure of the Easter liturgy! Since Christianity is basically about the passion, the resurrection, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, one can find these almost anywhere.

On matters of detail I confine myself to a single question about Professor Shepherd's treatment of the Quartodeciman controversy. If we regard Apollinaris as a Quartodeciman, the documents *simply do not hang together*, and one would have to contend the whole matter is one of utter confusion and insoluble. Shepherd's chapter only seems coherent because he does not have space to raise some of the vital issues. He can hardly be criticised for this, but should accordingly be read with caution. The study of this question must take account of the differences between fluid symbolism and literalistic dating. The failure to distinguish between these is at the root of many current confusions. The real problem of Apollinaris is, Why does the *Chronikon Paschale* cite him? That question can only be answered by saying, "Because, like Clement, he is orthodox." Thus the fragment must be read in an orthodox context in which it means, "The fourteenth is the *genuine* Lord's *pascha* (πάσχα), and hence it does *not* have to be kept as the *shadow*, for Jesus did *not* so keep it."

CYRIL C. RICHARDSON

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Secret Sayings of Jesus, by Robert M. Grant with David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1960. Pp. 206. \$3.50.

Seldom has a difficult theme been dealt with so clearly, popularly, and yet with such scholarly competence as in this volume. A first chapter surveys the history of the discovery of gnostic documents at Nag Hammadi in 1945 and the subsequent checkered treatment of these. The claim is rightly made that of them all the Gospel of Thomas, with the possible exception of the Gospel of Truth, is the most important. It is the most significant witness to the early perversion of Christianity by Gnostics who claimed to possess secret traditions of the teaching of Jesus. There follow chapters which serve as a foil for the text. The first explains the emergence of the canonical gospels. These reveal two principles at work, first, that of historical reliability and, secondly, that of theological interpretation. Thus accuracy and relevance are claimed to be marks of our gospels, and the evidence for this claim is convincingly presented. The oral tradition, the *agrapha*, and the apocryphal gospels are then dealt with, and this leads on to an illuminating treatment of the gospel findings in the papyri, i. e., the Gospel of Peter (discovered in 1886-1887), the Oxyrhynchus papyri (1897), the fragments of an unknown gospel (edited by Bell and Skeat in 1935), and the gnostic fragments (a Coptic gnostic document dated in the 4th or 5th century; see W. E. Crum, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XLIV (1943), pp. 176 ff.) and a gnostic fragment from the 3rd century edited by C. H. Roberts, in *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri* III, and which may have been a part of an unknown Gospel of the Virgin Mary (*Berlin Codex, Papyrus 8502*, published 1955 by Walter Till, which also includes the Apocrypha of John, and the Sophia of Jesus Christ).

After this preliminary work Thomas is placed in its total setting and especially compared with other gnostic material. Finally, a translation prepared by William R. Schoedel of the University of Chicago is given and a commentary interpreting the sayings and the history of their transmission.

The volume thus admirably gives the Gospel of Thomas in its setting, and its significance and theology are expounded. It is thus an invaluable contribution to our studies. The one serious question which we should venture to raise with Professors Grant and Freedman concerns the relation of the Gospel of Thomas to our gospels. They claim the dependence of the former on the latter. "The Gospel of Thomas is largely based on the Church's Gospels" (p. 116). But in view of the very considerable gnostic elements in Thomas, of the variations from the gospels, and of the omissions in it, is it not safer to conclude that Thomas follows not the gospels but another independent tradition?

W. D. DAVIES

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY



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Publisher of THE INTERPRETER'S BIBLE

Die Heidenmission in der Zukunftsschau Jesu, by David Bosch. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959. (*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Band 36.) Pp. 210.

An interesting development in recent NT studies has been the renewed interest among NT scholars in the gentile mission in the thought of Jesus, and especially in the setting of this in the context of his eschatology. We have had the important work by Professor Jeremias of Goettingen, *Jesu Verheissung fuer die Voelker*, Stuttgart 1956, the English translation of which was reviewed by J. A. T. Robinson in this *Journal* LXVIII 1959, pp. 101-104, and now we have, from Switzerland, the publication of a dissertation accepted by the University of Basel in 1956.

The author's interest in the missionary work of the church has led him to an intensive study of the missionary motive in the NT, and he begins his own work with a review of the work that has been done in this field by NT scholars down to the above-mentioned book by Jeremias (pp. 11-14). He regrets the fact that this book appeared too late for him to take it into account in the main text of his work, and he has to limit himself to a few brief notices of it in footnotes. This is important since it means that we may not look to this book for a direct discussion of the exegetical points made by Jeremias.

Bosch is convinced, as is Jeremias, that the gentile mission, in the expectation of Jesus, is to be regarded as an eschatological act of God. But he seems to give the word "eschatological" a rather different meaning from that which Jeremias would give it. He regards Jesus as having had a clear pattern of expectation, somewhat as follows: (1) Jesus knew himself to be the appointed envoy of God, in whose person and work the messianic kingdom came to the chosen people of God. Salvation came first to the Jews. Bosch makes a great deal of the *πρωτον* in Mark 7:27 (pp. 100-101). But Bosch is no "realized eschatologist"; for him the first stage in the expectation of Jesus is to be succeeded by a second. The Jews will reject the Messiah and crucify him, and this will lead to (2) the period to be introduced by the resurrection and the gift of the Holy Spirit, when the good news is to be proclaimed by the messengers of Jesus to the Jews first and then to the gentiles. This period will conclude with (3) the Parousia and the concomitant Judgment and Consummation.

Of the second period in the expectation of Jesus Bosch is very fond of using the terms *Zwischenzeit* and *Gnadenzeit*, and he stresses the fact that during this time the gentile mission is the eschatological work of God: eschatological in the sense that it is a part of this interim period, that it is the work of the eschatological Spirit of God, and that it is directed towards, and will be limited by, the Parousia (pp. 193-196).

The gentile mission is essentially a testimony from the kingdom that came in Christ to that which is to come. The missionary proclamation of the church gives the time between the Resurrection and the Parousia its *heilsgeschichtlichen* significance, and our missionary work must be understood in this light. It is no more, and no less, than the eschatological act of God which is effected by the messengers of Jesus Christ under the guidance of the Holy Spirit during the limited *Gnadenzeit* (pp. 197-200).

Now that this is the general NT view of the gentile mission is fairly clear, and Bosch uses material from John, from Paul, and from Acts at many points in his work. But is it a view which may be ascribed to the historical Jesus? Have we evidence that his

eschatological expectation was as clearly and definitely in this form as Bosch would have us believe? In the present reviewer's opinion the only possible answer to these questions is No. Bosch's view rests upon a whole series of exegetical improbabilities. For example, the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, Mark 12 1-12 and parallels, is regarded as going back to Jesus in more or less its present, allegorical form, and the work of scholars such as Dodd and Jeremias is brushed aside on the grounds of insufficient evidence in view of the possibility that Jesus sometimes taught in parables, sometimes in allegories, and sometimes in a mixture of both (p. 116). Again, the two parables of the Last Supper, Matt 22 1-10 and Luke 14 16-24, are treated as two distinct parables with a similar message, and interpreted in terms of the *heilsgeschichtlichen* pattern which Bosch finds in the expectation of Jesus, the modern work on them being largely ignored (pp. 124-131). It must be bad news for Bosch that the Gospel of Thomas offers in its logia 64 and 65 very strong evidence for the vindication of the work of Dodd and Jeremias! Further, a major part of Bosch's argument rests upon Mark 13 10 (pp. 132-174), and his interpretation of this saying is in turn dependent upon a willingness to accept the whole of Mark 13 and its parallels as an authentic part of the teaching of Jesus, in simple reliance on Beasley-Murray (pp. 149-153).

On the positive side, Bosch offers us an introduction to a very wide range of literature relevant to his subject, and the evidence he presents for his contention that Jesus knew himself to be the envoy of God (pp. 43-75) is worthy of serious consideration. There are signs that we are entering into a new and fruitful phase in the constant discussion of Jesus' claims with regard to himself and his mission, and here the work of Bosch may prove to be of real significance.

NORMAN PERRIN

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Weisheit und Torheit, by Ulrich Wilckens. Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959. Pp. vi+299. (*Beitraege zur Historischen Theologie*, No. 26.)

What was the real source of difficulty in the church at Corinth when Paul wrote I Corinthians? There were factions, to be sure. That is obvious from the text. But why was the partisan spirit in this congregation so strong that the very unity of the church, even in its theological dimensions, was threatened? This is the problem to which Ulrich Wilckens addresses himself. His solution is rooted in a very detailed exegetical study of I Cor 1 18-2 16 in the light of the prevailing religious milieu.

The author is quick to acknowledge that any such analysis as he has undertaken must deal with a very complex cluster of problems, not the least of which is the temptation to select one set of concepts to the exclusion of others current at the same time. To be specific, he concedes that it is not possible to discuss the hellenistic features of the Corinthian "theology" without an awareness of the fact that by this time they had

been exposed to various Jewish currents of thought. Having said this, however, Wilckens still remains within the tradition of Bultmann. He argues that the crucial features of the Corinthian philosophy were hellenistic in origin and thought. This basic conclusion he rests on a rather involved description of Valentinian Gnosticism and a more general statement on Stoicism.

The rise of various religious parties in Corinth resulted, he believes, from a view of baptism which saw in this rite little more than an initiation ceremony into a mystery religion, whereby a very personal and spiritual relationship was created between the neophyte and his mystagogue. This false conception of baptism, in turn, was rooted in a Christology patterned after the Gnostic myth of the Descending and Ascending Redeemer (cf. I Cor 2 6-9) with its inherent dualism, which excluded both the necessity and the possibility of seeing any redemptive significance in the Crucifixion. For "in the Gnosis of the Corinthians it was not the Savior Himself, but only His body, that was crucified" (p. 207).

Now, all this was contrary to Paul's gospel, which proclaimed that men are baptized into the death of Christ. Paul, therefore, opposed the "wisdom" of the Corinthians with his "word of the cross." For him Jesus Christ was a redeemer in a sense radically different from the Revealing Spirit (Pneuma) of Gnosticism. For his Savior was one who had come to liberate men by an act of weakness and not by unveiling some timeless mysteries. Despite this fundamental difference, Paul was willing to accommodate himself to the terminology of his opponents, especially in I Cor 2 10-16.

In his discussion of this particular section Wilckens makes his strongest case for hellenistic Gnosticism. But even here it is possible and even desirable to suggest that the philosophy of the Corinthians was infused with Jewish rather than hellenistic ideas. The dualism of *pneuma-sarx* is a prominent feature of the Qumran literature. Wilckens rests his argument for the myth of the Descending Redeemer largely on the interpretation of *archontes* as cosmic, even demonic, powers (2 8). For this there is no parallel in Paul. Jewish apocalyptic literature does provide ample parallels for such a descent of wisdom as Paul describes; and the *archontes* need be no other than Caiaphas, Pilate, and Herod. In fact, it is they who were responsible for the Crucifixion, which is the apostle's point.

It is evident from the epistle itself that Apollos was something of a key to this whole problem. Since Apollos had been trained in Alexandria, where he had come into contact with a distinctive movement that had its origins with John the Baptist, our whole interpretation of the Corinthian philosophy ought possibly to hinge on him as a possible, and even probable, link with certain views of the Qumran community.

Under any circumstances, no one can read this work without learning to appreciate the greatness of Paul both as an apostle and as a churchman. Wilckens' book is a major contribution to our understanding of early Christianity in Corinth. Of this there can be no doubt.

MARTIN H. SCHARLEMANN

The Cruel God: Job's Search for the Meaning of Suffering, by Margaret B. Crook. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959. Pp. xviii+222. \$3.50.

It is right for the scholar to come to the book of Job in his maturity, to approach its turbulence with a measure of detached serenity. In active "retirement" after thirty-five years of teaching biblical literature Margaret B. Crook qualifies. Miss Crook can recognize "the smiling benevolence, the semihumorous ease" with which the Almighty replies "to Job's proud challenge" (p. 142). There is maturity and a lot of humanity in the interpretation of the Job which Miss Crook somewhat elusively entitles *The Cruel God*. I find a lot of wisdom packed into the summary eighteenth chapter, "The Way of the Poet with Job and God." There the wisdom of the poetically gifted author of *The Cruel God* supplements the wisdom of the "Poet" who wrote Job.

I find attractive but I am hesitant about Miss Crook's proposals: that the book of Job is a precipitate of discussions between a "wiseman" and his students in a kind of Socratic "graduate seminar" (p. xiv, chap. 1, and *passim*) and that the book took shape in Babylon (p. 178). Perhaps only the novelty of these proposals makes me cautious.

The Cruel God is a chapter-by-chapter analysis of the biblical book but not strictly speaking a "commentary." Miss Crook has rendered much of the text into fresh words, but the translation is not weighed down with critical notes. She handles the text conservatively, making do with a confused text if she can, and not including some of the passages that might present difficulties. A few critical notes appear and they are enlightening. The translations are often paraphrastic—and this is desirable; the skillful paraphrase lends new life to the English of the Bible.

There is a disadvantage to the chapter-by-chapter analysis of the argument. The argument in Job is no straight line; it rambles and repeats, and the debaters seldom join issue. If the analysis confuses the reader, the biblical book is the offender. No doubt Miss Crook thinks of her analysis as a companion to the biblical text, which therefore it follows with few departures.

In her eighteenth chapter Miss Crook restates the poet's answer: While embracing monotheism the poet "questions whether mankind is in fact central in God's creation"; he amplifies "a too simple theory of the range of God's interests." He frees God "from the toils in which human thinkers placed him." But the poet does not take evil to be the ultimate in God's intention. He shapes the action so that Job's triumph over tribulation comes when (because God notices him, because God evinces his concern) Job "recognizes the priority of positive intention on God's part." The poet knows too that also "in the human situation" evil is not the ultimate. God gives "responsibility to mankind," and "a new age in human relationships" must dawn.

Miss Crook may well have found the contemporary message of the book of Job.

SHELDON H. BLANK

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

Sex and Family in the Bible and the Middle East, by Raphael Patai. Garden City: Doubleday, 1959. Pp. 282. \$3.95.

This well-written and most readable book by a prominent anthropologist covers a very wide field. The entire Bible, the whole of the Arabic world (with occasional references even to Timbuctoo and Afghanistan) are searched for parallels referring to family life. During the last decades students of this subject tended to compare biblical data with more or less contemporaneous literature, such as Babylonian marriage laws or Ugaritic epical texts. It is good, therefore, that the author takes up the tradition represented by such works as those of Robertson Smith, Westermarck, Jaussen, Miss Granqvist, whom he often quotes with striking results. His book is interesting, therefore, not only for biblical scholars, but also for students of ancient oriental law. The last group will regret that the author refers so rarely to the documents of their daily study, but constant comparison with the cuneiform literatures would have necessitated a book at least double the size.

The author has a wider public in view. This is probably the reason why he abstains from footnotes and gives a list of references at the end of the book. For the general public this is certainly an advantage, but the specialist often misses a more detailed discussion both of difficult biblical texts and of rather questionable Arabic stories (e. g., p. 105, where Doughty's report, even in its wording, is undoubtedly influenced by the biblical story of Gen 34).

In some cases the list of references fails. On p. 55 it is mentioned that among the Arabs of Palestine the bridegroom's representative is expected to demand that he be allowed to state his errand before he tastes any food or drink. Every commentator on Gen 24 would like to know where to find a more detailed description of this custom.

Specialists would also like to make some cross references. The opinion expressed on p. 44 that Rachel was enabled to conceive by means of the mandrakes is to be compared with the statement on p. 74. Here we read that according to the biblical narrator it was God who "remembered Rachel." The shame of sterility is explained as a result of the belief that it is caused by sin (pp. 83 f.), but one should take into account what is said on p. 183: "in the Biblical view the mother's body was regarded as merely a vessel in which the embryo is formed by God out of the seed of the father." The result of this conception is that the barren wife is considered an instrument of death. Continuously she is killing the living seed entrusted to her. This in itself is reason enough to feel ashamed. The former suggestion looks like a later rationalization.

The author is well-acquainted with the biblical material and in only a very few cases he commits mistakes (cf. p. 111, where he maintains that it was the host, instead of the guest, who delivered the concubine to the mob in Judg 19 25; or p. 108, where he says that Dinah was kept as a hostage by the Shechemites).

These are only slight errors which do not detract from the worth of Patai's book as a whole. To biblical scholars who often have not had the opportunity to go to the Arabic sources nor the leisure to read through the bulky volumes of the specialists, Patai's study is a mine of information, a book to be taken up again and again.

A. VAN SELMS

Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, by F. F. Bruce. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1959. Pp. 82. \$2.50.

There were three underlying convictions in Qumran molding the hermeneutics of scriptural interpretation: God revealed his purpose or mystery to the prophets, but its real meaning was not discerned until God revealed its application to the Teacher of Righteousness; all the words of the prophets referred to the eschaton; and the eschaton was believed at hand in the period of the life of the sect (p. 9). In their use of the OT the Qumran exegetes atomized the biblical text, picking phrases out of context and even within one OT verse applying one phrase to one contemporary event and its immediate and syntactical neighbor to another (pp. 16, 69, 73). They freely selected variant readings to suit their own purpose. They only occasionally allegorized but, by whatever method employed, they applied biblical prophecies to the eschaton which was introduced by the ministry of the Teacher of Righteousness (p. 16).

The Qumran community probably interpreted both the son of man figure (Dan 7 13) and the servant of the Lord figure (Isa 42-53) collectively. They thought of themselves as an expiating and judging community. Yet certain individuals or groups within the sect might from time to time (as in 1QS8 and 1QH *passim*) assume the rôle elsewhere ascribed to the whole group. This Bruce calls an "oscillation between corporate and individual interpretation" which is justified by the oscillation in the text of the servant poems themselves.

The principal distinction in hermeneutical method between NT and Qumran use of the OT is that whereas the latter atomizes the text, the NT retains a sense of OT history and does not deny it either by typology or analogy. Where the Qumran commentator tried to find a contemporary application for each detail in a passage, the NT writer emphasized the main point of the OT passage and applied it as a principle to his problems (p. 71). The final distinction, however, for the NT is its christological, not just messianic or eschatological, interpretation of OT faith. Jesus becomes the embodiment of the divine kingdom, not just a key to its mysteries (p. 77).

The main contribution Bruce makes to the growing discussion of the hermeneutics of the period is his insistence on the differences between the methods used in Qumran and in the NT, and for this reason alone he deserves to be heard in the debate. The strongest objection I have to this work is directed toward Bruce's assumption that the Qumran expositors picked and chose at will the OT variants which they used. In all likelihood neither group had such uncontrolled freedom. A further study of the testimonia and florilegia lists will probably result in a clearer answer as to why variant readings of the OT appear. To assume that the Qumran exegetes chose willy-nilly among optional readings spread before them on their desks is, for the time being, unwarranted.

J. A. SANDERS

COLGATE ROCHESTER DIVINITY SCHOOL

Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung, Eine kritische Darstellung, by Olof Linton. Frankfurt Main: Minerva, 1957, Photomechanic reprint of 1932 edition. \$8.00 ca.

Fortunately the reprint of the classics is not limited to Grand Rapids, Michigan, with continental publishers sharing in the trade. In selecting this classic treatment of the trends the study of the church has taken, a distinct service has been rendered to New Testament scholarship. Scholars and librarians have tried in vain to obtain copies of this book only to be told that it was out of print and inaccessible. It should be required reading for any doctoral candidate in New Testament and of anyone seriously studying the theme of the church. Here the swings of the pendulum between charismatic-institutional and transcendental-immanent are traced as it has moved in scholarship in the less recent past.

While the ecumenical discussions have immeasurably gone forward since the theme of this book was first published and in a limited way Father Braun's *Neues Licht auf die Kirche* (Einsiedeln, 1946) complements that of Linton, there is slight doubt that the present work justified reprinting.

WILLIAM KLASSEN

MENNONITE BIBLICAL SEMINARY

Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu. Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte, by Joachim Jeremias. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2nd edition, 1958, Part I, 99 pp., Part II, 64 pp., Part III, 264 pp. \$6.00 ca.

Thirty-six years have elapsed since Prof. Jeremias first published the results of his research in the economic and social conditions of Jerusalem at the time of Jesus. No work of comparable magnitude or dependability has since appeared, and the excellent little volume by F. C. Grant on *The Economic Background of the Gospels* is today as scarce as the proverbial hen's tooth. Scholars who want information at their finger tips will find it here in the work of Jeremias. The passage of time has not necessitated any major revision and the 2nd edition appears to be a photo-mechanic reprint with even the pagination of the first edition retained.

While we still lack a popular treatment of the economic and social conditions of Jerusalem (not to say of Palestine as a whole) which can take a place on the reading list of the student, the publishers are to be congratulated on reprinting this important work. Jeremias has assiduously gathered important and relevant material here which should serve as a basis for anyone attempting to gather such material for all of Palestine. A collection such as this does much to illuminate the economic and social milieu of the New Testament and as such is a helpful tool in ascertaining the message of the New Testament.

WILLIAM KLASSEN

MENNONITE BIBLICAL SEMINARY

Old Testament Dissertations, 1928-1958, by Martin J. Buss. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, Inc., 1958. Pp. x+57. \$3.00. (Order No. O-P529.)

This useful list comprises about 700 dissertations, arranged alphabetically in three divisions — North American, British, and Other (mostly European). For each listing one or more references are given so that the reader may check for accuracy. The introduction describes the sources in some detail, making it relatively easy for the reader to bring the list up to date and keep it so. Directions are also given for the procurement of foreign dissertations. The availability of published abstracts is indicated whenever known. In addition to studies strictly in the OT field, a number of monographs dealing with the intertestamental literature, postbiblical Judaism, and the archeology, history, and literature of the ancient Near East have been included. The variety of the topics treated is striking, but there are numerous duplications. The author points out that the list includes four studies each on the word *hesed* and on the Hapiru. It is impossible to avoid completely such duplication and overlapping — and in some cases it is even desirable to have the same subject treated in different ways and from various points of view — but each writer should know of relevant studies completed or in progress. Unfortunately reports on current research usually become available too late to prevent duplication of effort. The list under notice will serve to discourage unprofitable rehashing of tired topics. Wisely used, it can also be a stimulus to new and fruitful research. Some prospective Ph.D's may curse their luck on finding that their chosen topic has already been belabored, but many will be encouraged by the fact that, though much is taken, much abides. Both students and advisers will find this list extremely helpful.

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Q'hal Yahwe, Wat dit is en wie daaraan mag behoort, by J. D. W. Kritzing. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1957. Pp. viii+166. Fl. 6.90.

This book is a doctoral dissertation for the Free University in Amsterdam. Although it is written in *Afrikaans*, its major theses have been summarized at the close in an English that is adequate though surprisingly awkward for one brought up in a British commonwealth. Dr. Kritzing appears to be well trained in linguistics and exegesis. The first part of his book provides a detailed study of *qhl* and related terms, arriving at basically sound distinctions and at times offering valuable corrections to erroneous views, as, e. g., Rost's etymology of 'ēdhāh in *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im Alten Testament* (1938). The second part treats the various qualifications for membership in the *qēhāl yāhweh* (circumcision; the requirements of Deut 23 2-9, Exod 12 43-49, and of the laws of cleanness; Pss 15 and 24 3-6). There is little here that is new. The writer takes relevant historical and cultural phenomena into account in his

discussion, but he is bound to a theory of revelation which hampers his search for a genuine literary, cultural, and historical understanding of the materials under consideration. Thus, e. g., his treatment of Deut 23 2-9, in which the traditional authorship is maintained, is less than adequate, as is also his statement that the preference for 'edhah in Numbers and the avoidance of it in Deuteronomy are to be attributed merely to different redactors (p. 8). No doubt the most important contribution to biblical scholarship that writers of this school are making is that of guarding against errors and excesses on the part of bolder scholars. Kritzinger's monograph has helped in this, and if only for this reason should not be overlooked — nor should others which we recall, such as the able refutation of Mowinckel's views written by Kritzinger's teacher, N. H. Ridderbos, in his own dissertation, *De "werkers der ongerechtigheid" in de individuele Psalmen* (1939).

SIMON J. DE VRIES

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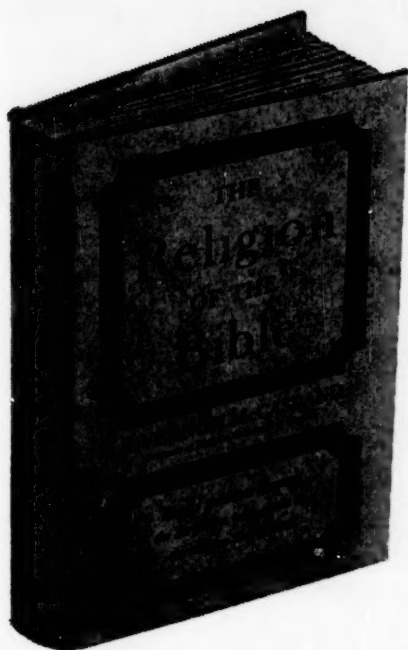
Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948-1957, by William S. LaSor (Fuller Library Bulletin, No. 31). Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1958. Pp. 92. \$3.50.

This carefully prepared bibliography provides a valuable supplement to Burchard's exhaustive *Bibliographie* by arranging the material according to subject index rather than author. The index is divided into three main sections: I. General Works; II. The Texts of Qumran; III. Interpretation of the Qumran Literature. The extensive subdivisions under III are of particular value to the scholar as well as to the librarian. These include such headings as "Qumran and Gnosticism," "The Cultus of Qumran," "Bibliographies of Qumraniana."

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